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## Near East/South Asia Report

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9 JUNE 1986

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## ARMENIAN AFFAIRS

### PARIS-BASED ARMENIAN PAPERS, POLITICAL TENDENCIES PORTRAYED

Paris LE MONDE in French 13-14 Apr 86 p 5

[Article by Charles Szlakmann]

[Text] If fortunate people have no history, those whose fate has been tragic remain passionately attached to theirs. Proof of this is the faith that animates those who are responsible for the Armenian press: six papers published in Paris, written partially or exclusively in Armenian, are distributed in France and abroad.

The heart of the 19th Arrondissement, surrounded by tailors, furriers, and importers of carpets, is the headquarters of the dean of Armenian newspapers in Paris, HARATCH ("Forward"). This daily, established in 1925 by militant Social Democrat Schararch Missakian--a genocide survivor--is a real institution. Since Missakian's death in 1957, his only daughter, Arpik Missakian, has presided over the destiny of the paper that has become her personal property. Arpik Missakian is a great person who is respected and even admired by her colleagues. She rules over her precious heritage with firmness and is animated by the memory of her father and founder. From above, in his gigantic portrait, he still seems to inspire the contents of the paper.

#### A Return to Sources

"At the outset, it was necessary to lend a helping hand to the genocide survivors who were transplanted to a country where they did not know the language and basic customs. Therefore, our paper gave practical advice: steps to be undertaken, laws to be observed, rights to be asserted. HARATCH knew how to weave emotional ties with these settlers who were lost in a foreign land; it knew how to establish a real family."

This aspect continues to be true. According to Arpik, a printing of 3,000 copies of the 4-page daily is read by 15,000 readers. Sold at 4 francs, HARATCH is essentially circulated through its subscriptions. Gifts and advertising contribute to its precarious budget. The last page is devoted to community announcements and commercial advertisements. There one learns of the forthcoming departures of tourist groups to Armenia; traditional restaurant specialties are praised; and the CRDA (Center for Research on Armenian Diasporas) draws attention to an Armenian musical recital.

News that is specifically Armenian fills the main portion of HARATCH columns--daily news from Soviet Armenia or from many diasporas, but also developments devoted to the genocide and its consequences. The genocide is a wound that is still open--Turkey stubbornly refuses to admit its blame; it haunts the national memory endlessly.

Nowadays, the countenance of the Armenian community, estimated at 250,000 members in France (there are about 6,000,000 Armenians in the world, about half of them in Soviet Armenia), has evolved considerably. Arpik has taken this into consideration: "This is already the fourth generation to be born in France and it is socially well integrated. This generation, as in the case of other minorities, is engaged in a process of a return to sources and of affirmation of identity. It reproaches its elders with irresolution, with failure to pass on their Armenian patrimony. We have therefore enriched HARATCH with a monthly supplement devoted to cultural matters." There is a big innovation: it is bilingual. Most of the young people do not know the language of their far-off fatherland, even if some of them do apply themselves resolutely to studying it.

Leafing through the pages revealed successively a recollection of the poet Armen Lubin; a thorough study on the Saint-Thadee convent, located in Iran; and a discussion of the impact of violence in the defense of the Armenian cause.

### "My Dual Identity"

Is not the future of the paper threatened if it continues to appear in Armenian?

"From the beginning, we have been beset by pessimistic forecasts, such as: This paper will not last a year... But, you see, those forecasts did not come true! It's a matter of principle with me; HARATCH is an Armenian language newspaper; it is its vocation. Moreover, our subscribers are on the rise, thanks to recent diasporas from Turkey, Lebanon, and Iran--all Armenian speaking communities."

On the political plane, HARATCH falls within the sphere of the Dachnak Party. In addition to its specifically Armenian claims, it invokes social democracy. "My father held one of the most responsible positions in the party, and the paper always upholds the same ideas. But in any case it does not want to be a party mouthpiece." Arpik proudly states: "We are the only independent paper of the diaspora!"

Those in charge of the new daily, GAMK ("Willingness") object to this claim. GAMK was first published on 11 February 1985. They want to be a tool in the service of the Dachnak Party. That is why half of the eight pages of the daily are published in French. The imperative is to reach a maximum of young Armenians.

On the premises of GAMK, a few streets away from their colleagues, the environment is quite different, even if their greeting is as warm. Here,



they obviously have considerable means: nine permanent employees collaborate on the paper (HARATCH has two part-time employees). A glass door separates a spacious office from the editing room, where several young people are busy. One of them, recently immigrated from Lebanon, translates AFP dispatches into Armenian; another writes an article in French; two young girls are seated at terminals where the letters of the traditional alphabet flash by. As Henri Papazian, engineer with a very "young, dynamic staff," asserts with unconcealed (and justifiable) pride: "There are Armenians in Silicon Valley, too!"

GAMK, of socialist leaning, called for PS voting in the legislative elections. It refuses to condemn those whom it calls "fighting Armenians," that is, perpetrators of attempts on the life of official representatives of Turkey. On the other hand, it definitely disapproves of the blind terrorism of the ASALA.

In fact, the respective positions of the two dailies are not fundamentally different. But the style is different. GAMK does not conceal its militant course and wants to reach a large public of young people, and encourages them to affirm their identity. The director of HARATCH, for her part, states: "Personally, I have never suffered from my dual identity. On the contrary, it is a source of enrichment. While imbued with French culture, I also feel completely Armenian. However, this situation seems to cause apprehension among certain young people!"

The final visit into the Armenian geography of Paris, a trip into a 13th Arrondissement that vaguely resembles a sleepy province, leads to the interior of an old building. On one side there is a printing office; on the other, a narrow stairway leads to a room crammed with all kinds of papers: piles of papers balanced on each other, old newspapers, letters. A jovial Mr Tchamikian, in his sixties, with a broad sweep of his arm and a burst of laughter presents to his visitor the editing room of the "World!" This is the French translation of ACHKHAR, founded in 1959, which describes itself as a "literary, artistic, and information organ of Armenian life." Mr Tchamikian, retired, a former building painter, is now in charge of these four pages of the weekly newspaper.

#### Attitude Towards the USSR

ACHKHAR prints 1,800 copies; more than 600 are sent to Soviet Armenia. Close ties with the "mother country" seem to be the special feature of the paper. "Certain colleagues consider you to be pro-Soviet?"

"They say that because we bear in mind the national interest. Armenia is sacred to us. And let's be realists, it could not be independent, in the presence of Turkey, our great enemy."

"Do you tackle matters of political liberties or of Soviet dissidents?"

"No; frankly no..."

GAMK and HARATCH have attitudes that are slightly different. Says Henri Papazian (GAMK): "We have a wholly natural affection for Soviet Armenia and

are proud of its economic accomplishments." "The USSR necessarily has a role to play in the settlement of the Armenian question. Keeping in mind our interests, we refuse to engage in systematic anti-Sovietism." That, however, does not mean ideological compliance. "For us Socialists, the Soviet system is a caricature of socialism!" Furthermore, the border claims with regard to the USSR are forcefully expressed: "...Certain provinces, integral parts of historical Armenia, were unjustly awarded to Azerbaijan and to Georgia!"

Likewise, the "neutrality" advocated by some with respect to the USSR makes Arpik Missakian bristle with: "We are independent, but we are not neutral... In the telexes that we receive from Armenia, we discard all propaganda!"

Keeping in mind its small circulation, one might be tempted to attribute to the Armenian press in Paris a folklorist, or pleasingly parochial, character. But that would mean that one would be unmindful of the rectitude and passion that it demonstrates.

8255/9435

CSO: 4619/34



REPORTAGE ON ANNIVERSARY OF 1915 ARMENIAN MASSACRE

Majlis Deputy Draws Parallels

Tehran ETTELA'AT in Persian 24 Apr 86 p 16

[Text] In four rounds of the Majlis discussions regarding the details of the plan pertaining to the limits of the duties, responsibilities and authorities of the president of the Islamic Republic of Iran, four more articles of the said plan were approved and two articles were deleted. According to ETTELA'AT's parliamentary correspondent, at yesterday's opening session which was presided over by the Hojjat ol-Eslam Hashemi Rafsanjani, the plan pertaining to "the limits of the judicial power's responsibility versus the Islamic Consultative Assembly" was also presented to the Majlis.

At this session, the representatives of Armenians of Tehran and the northern region, Marvdasht, Esfahan and Qom were the pre-agenda speakers.

Speech of the Representative of Armenians of Tehran and the Northern Region

Mr Vartan Vartanian was the first pre-agenda speaker at yesterday's open session of the Majlis who started out by saying: Greetings to the great leader of the revolution and the founder of the Islamic Republic of Iran, best regards to the martyrs of the path of God and my compliments to the combatants of the battlefronts of the imposed war who sacrifice their lives to defend the legitimate rights of the honorable nation of Iran; by repelling transgressions and vanquishing the transgressor they will show all the wrongdoers that they cannot forcibly trample the legitimate rights of the nations.

Thereafter, as regards the war he stated: We were nearly two years into the glorious Islamic revolution when the aggressor regime of Iraq, with the overt and covert support of the arrogant governments headed by the traitorous United States, invaded our land. The Iraqi regime changed the western region of our country into an inferno and it tried its hand at numerous crimes against Iran and brought havoc to many of our cities, towns, villages and factories. The remains of many a martyrs in the Hoveyzeh region attest to these crimes.

He went on to add: While as a result of the sacrifice of the Iranian combatants, the aggressor regime of Saddam faces a new defeat everyday and we come ever closer to the final victory, the criminal Saddam resorts to chemical bombs which are put at his disposal by the would-be civilized world. All this happens at a time when the date of the pertinent convention prohibiting the use of such chemical weapons goes back to about a half century ago and that even during WW II

such bombs were never used. However, what is even more regrettable and deplorable than all this oppression is the silence of the international forums against the crimes of the aggressors and their lack of action in condemning the Ba'thist regime of Iraq as the violator and aggressor of the imposed war.

The Armenians' representative while criticizing the international forums also stated: At a time when the oppressed and the adversity-stricken nations of the world are thirsty for justice and are striving for their freedom and independence, the leaders of the Zionist and the unreasonable governments of the world are busy at international forums, and competing whether overtly or covertly for their own material gains and they have all remained silent against all the numerous crimes and oppressions of the present century and by doing so they inadvertently become an accomplice of the oppressors.

He further added: It has been a long time since the oppressed Armenians have expressed their disgust against such unpardonable silence of the international forums and especially today which coincides with the 71st anniversary of the horrible massacre of the Armenians by the Ottoman rulers of Turkey, they [the Armenians] feel ever more the bitter effects of this unpropitious silence.

In continuation of his statement, Mr Vartanian said: The inauspicious program of this massacre was enacted many years ago at the meetings of the Party of Unity and Progress and its purpose revolved around the realization of a racial thought, namely the formation of a unified Transoxanian region and the creation of a vast empire which would embrace within its borders such areas as the Gobi desert region, Mongolia proper, Central Asia, the Caspian Sea, the Eastern part of the Caucasia up to the present-day Azarbaijan of Iran and Turkey. However, the Armenians and the Armenia itself posed an obstacle to the realization of this racial thought and thus its complete destruction had been covertly approved by the leaders of the Party of Unity and Progress which was carried out in a savage and ferocious manner.

He further stated: From those ill-omened days until the present it is 71 years now that the various governments of Turkey through every and all available national and governmental means, within and outside their country, have tried to distort and conceal the facts, however the Armenians only by relying on the legitimate blood of their martyrs and their belief in the predominance of right over wrong have tried to divulge the profundity and depth of the crimes which have been committed against their ancestors. They've tried to break the cowardly silence which was intended to cover up those crimes. Today, all the Armenians of the world endear their reminiscences of one and a half million martyrs and all remember how after the massacre of the Armenians, the criminal aggressors usurped their land and destroyed their cultural heritage so as to eradicate any and all traces of their ancestral inheritance, the very land which right now Turkey has put at the disposal of the criminal United States to be used as the NATO bases belongs to the Armenians.

The representative of the Armenians further stated: The awakened conscience of

humanity knows quite well that the Turkish leaders have never felt ashamed of such massacres and that the world superpowers and those would-be civilized or progressive nations and the Human Rights Organization have all remained silent.

The awakened conscience of humanity witnessed and knows quite well how the honorable nation of Iran welcomed the survivors of the holocaust of April 24, 1915 with open arms. And they remember well how the diplomatic representatives of Iran in Van at the cost of endangering their relations with the Turkish government, provided asylum for some Armenian refugees in their consulate and transferred them to Iran under complete security. The awakened conscience of humanity knows quite well that all the Armenians are awaiting the advent of justice to redress all the oppression and injustice which was accorded them.

Thereafter, while criticizing Reagan's policies he said: And today the awakened conscience of humanity is aware of how the leader of a country which claims to be the very cradle of freedom and civilization in the world, namely the criminal Reagan, when being pressed by public opinion which questions him about the Armenians' massacre, shamelessly retorts: Which massacre are you talking about? What can we expect from an aggressor who openly, in front of the astounded and amazed eyes of the world, attacked a small country like Libya and who tries to suppress the cries of protests against his crimes through the use of bombs and rockets.

He also added: Reagan and all his ilk ought to know that a policy of threat and intimidation against the Islamic Republic of Iran cannot deter this heroic nation from attaining their legitimate rights, since this nation under the guidance of the great leader of the revolution, with complete solidarity of all strata, marches forward and an example of this perfect unity is the coalescent nature of the Armenians with their Muslem brothers in all the areas.

In conclusion, the representative of the Armenians of Tehran and the northern region pointed out: In the battlefronts of the imposed war, the Armenian soldiers fight side by side with their Muslem brothers and many of the Armenian intellectuals, experts and innovators in various fields--particularly in the technical and medical fields--are trying their best to make restitution for their debt to the country and the nation. All the din and racket of the arrogant powers, the plots of the various groups and schemes of the internal agents will not have any effect on this inviolable alliance of brotherhood between the nation's strata, on the one hand and the hard-working and honest Armenians on the other. This organic unity will promise the final victory of our combatants in the battlefronts of the imposed war.

#### Ambassador's Contemporary Account Quoted

Paris GAMK in Armenian/French 30 Apr 86 p 3

[Text] On Tuesday 24 April, at the Paris M.C.A., Claud Mutaflan was signing copies of his new book "Archives of Armenian Genocide," published by Fayard. It consists of excerpts from the records of

the German government, ferreted out by Pastor Lipsius, and it will enable a non-German-speaking public to gain insight into an unofficial or official side of the Armenian massacres. The text that follows comes from the pen of a German ambassador, and is dated 24 April, 1915, from the Imperial German Embassy at Pera, and postmarked 30 April 1915.

On Saturday 24 April and Sunday 25 April, and from then to Monday 26 April, many Armenians were arrested--probably 500 or more in all--from all classes of society; a heavy proportion of those arrested were physicians, journalists, writers, and intellectuals, plus a few members of Parliament. The premises of AZADAMARD, organ of the Dashnak Party to which many of those arrested belonged, were jailed by the authorities. Next day, most of them were transported to the remote interior of Asia Minor.

As to who brought on these measures, all sorts of wildfire rumors spread through the populace. Rumor had it, among other frightening news, that explosives, bombs, and weapons had been found in Armenian homes and churches, and that the Armenians were planning to attack the Porte and other public buildings on the feast of the Coronation (27 April).

When the Armenian patriarch asked the Grand Vizier and the minister of the interior the reason for these mass arrests, he was told that organizing the Armenian people into political parties might, under current conditions, be exploited by certain influential individuals to disturb public order, and that it seemed to be imperative that, in the interest of the nation, it move to forestall such eventualities by removing the leaders from the capital.

The interior minister made the following statement, with Prime Minister Drogman looking on:

"The government is now determined to put a stop to the present situation, in which every religious community pursues its "policy," and is free, to that end, to create and sponsor political associations which are friendly to it. From now on, there will be only one policy in Turkey, and that will be "Ottoman policy."

Among urban Armenians, there is a number of individuals free on political sufferance, so to speak, and of course the place to find them is among the members of clubs and publishers. There is reason to fear that, should the war take an adverse turn, such elements might seize the opportunity to stir up unrest among the public: that is by no means a remote contingency. The time seemed ripe to remove all those under suspicion from the capital. Among those persons who have been expelled, there are certainly some who are totally innocent. The government does not deny this, and he [Talaat] will automatically give them permission to return, without anyone's needing to intervene on their behalf.

Talaat Bey has denied that any evidence exists for a planned putsch timed to coincide with the coronation festivities.

The events at Van and the attacks that have taken place in recent days on the Bosphorus (by the Russians) and in the Dardanelles (by the French and the British) have certainly exerted considerable influence on the government's decisions.

Written from Wangenheim

To His Excellency the Imperial Chancellor, Herr Von Bethmann Hollwag.

From THE "ARCHIVES OF THE GENOCIDE OF THE ARMENIANS", collected and submitted by Johannes Lepsius. Editions FAYARD, 1976

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COOPERATION, DIALOGUE SEEN ESSENTIAL FOR UNIFIED MAGHREB

Algiers REVOLUTION AFRICAINE in French 14 Feb 86 p 12

[Editorial: "Logic"]

[Text] In Chapter 5, the National Charter of 1986, like that of 1976, confirms the attachment of the Algerian people to the creation of a unified Arab Maghreb. This attachment is tied to--and therefore inseparable from--the historic struggle of the common people of the region against the supporters of colonization and imperialist domination.

Hence, for the Algerian people, the creation of an Arab Maghreb is in keeping with the "unified and ambitious political plan (which) has been and continues to be one of the most cherished demands of Maghreb Arabs since the colonial era."

Nonetheless, if such a political plan is to be realized, we must first clarify its outlines and determine its content. To attain such a goal, whose geopolitical, socioeconomic and cultural dimensions are destined to determine the future fate of the people of a region of known strategic importance--especially for the future of the Arab-African world--we must put together the prerequisites without which any undertaking of this nature and this scope would be entirely haphazard. To this end, it is imperative that we transcend past subjectivity and focus our attention on objective conditions alone; conditions that we must inevitably draw [as published] when we have thought through the present situation of the region in the light of the evolution of the development of the current world crisis, with all its political, military, economic and cultural implications.

Because Algeria is totally committed to this common undertaking; because it believes in this doctrine; because, since its war for liberation, it has militated unceasingly for the creation of an Arab Maghreb--it has always urged its brothers of the Maghreb to see this goal within the framework of Algeria's historical and revolutionary vision of the creation of an Arab Maghreb. It has encouraged them to follow the path of logic, the only path which can lend order and rationality to the impetus of the heart, giving it a finality worthy of our peoples' aspirations.



Algeria's just views, its dispassionate reasoning and its disciplined political policies are born of the grandeur, the solidity and the permanence of its ideals and its principles. It is to this continuity in thought and action that we must attribute the first--and very significant--results of the signature of the treaties of brotherhood and cooperation with our sister nations Tunisia and Mauritania.

The speeches given by Mr M'zali and Mr Messaadia on the occasion of the Sakiet Sidi-Youcef commemorative ceremonies provide an edifying indication that makes us appreciate today not only the new meanings given to brotherhood and cooperation but also those given to dialogue and concerted action. These are the indispensable prerequisites to achieving awareness, understanding history, transforming minds, and changing attitudes and behavior.

The revival of the dialogue with our Libyan brothers, begun by the In Amenas summit meeting between president Chadli Bendjedid and president Mu'ammarr al Qadhdhafi, followed by the visit of Mr 'Abd-al-Salam Jallud to Algiers, may, if these discussions share our reasoning and our version of the Maghreb ideal and the building of an Arab Maghreb, bring the people of the region the first elements of a reply to their expectations and their hopes; especially if this reply also focuses on working towards the resolution of the conflict between the Moroccan leaders and the Saharan people, the only serious obstacle remaining in the path to the unity of the Arab Maghreb. Obviously, for any summit meeting of the Maghreb countries to be in keeping with this perspective, it cannot ignore this fundamental aspect!

13014/9312

CSO: 4519/83

# SCARCITY, SPECULATION DRIVE UP FOOD PRICES

Algiers REVOLUTION AFRICAINE in French 14 Feb 86 pp 21-22

[Article by Naima C.: "Hard Times for Homemakers"]

[Text] Short tempers, "arrogantly"-priced displays, "lean" baskets that come home empty... such is the everyday atmosphere at the markets. Once again the meal will be meager. These are "bad weather days" for the purse, and housewives are looking dire.

In the Algiers markets (Hamma, Belcourt, Premier Mai, etc.) prices are rarely under 5 dinars. Judge for yourself: potatoes at 6.50 dinars a kilo; cauliflower at 10 or 12 dinars; onions and tomatoes at 20 dinars. Fruit has also become a luxury item. There is no longer any question of extending the pleasure of a meal to include a dessert when oranges cost no less than 7 and 12 dinars, and pears and apples sell for up to 30 dinars! Spoiled fruits are shamelessly displayed at prices supposedly "designed" for the limited budget. But are they really? Why shouldn't small budgets have a right to fine displays?

These extremely high prices are in fact created by the mechanism of speculation characteristic of the operation of the so-called free market.

"Complying with the regulation ceilings isn't easy," the retailers are quick to tell you. It is true that they are not always wrong in attacking the inspection services, which are so prompt to come down only on the "little guys" who--although they do make substantial profits, it must be said--are often forced to pass on the illegal profit margins the wholesalers regally grant themselves on the wholesale markets (Boufarik, Laaba, Bougar, etc.).

"We buy dear, and so we sell dear!" said one man we interviewed, with a logic based necessarily on the free circulation of agricultural produce among the sales agents. As for the government marketing structures--the only ones capable of controlling prices--retailers make scant use of them, because the produce they offer is decidedly limited in variety, quality, and quantity.

To "save their necks" and adapt to the situation, retailers merely play "hide-and-seek" with the inspectors. In the absence of the inspectors, their prices

are often three times the legal maximum. When the inspectors are present, they pretend to "toe the line." "If a merchant happens to get fined for having sold tomatoes at 20 dinars a kilo, the inspector doesn't want to hear why they were purchased at 18 dinars a kilo at the wholesale market," confided a retailer at the Premier Mai market. Many merchants profit from such a situation. Still others go for the "exclusives" that occasionally pay off big. These are the fellows selling early vegetables at unthinkable prices! Zucchini and bell peppers for instance, are still rare items in February--but who would think of buying them when zucchini is going for 30 dinars a kilo, and bell peppers can easily fetch over 70 dinars?

Households whose purchasing power has decreased during the winter months (while speculation has thrived) are hoping for immediate improvement. Meanwhile, market baskets are empty--or almost; people are buying only the bare necessities, and very little of those. Onions sell, despite the exorbitant price, only "because onion is basic to many recipes and because without it, the dish has no taste." It is for precisely this reason--the scarcity of commodities--that speculation is rampant.

Many come to gaze in vain at the scarcer produce, with the unspeakable hope that the downward trend will have finally begun. Once again, cooking pots will serve up only what was put in them.

Despite repeated cries of alarm, inflation in the fruit and vegetable markets stubbornly persists. Is it not time to attack the evil at its root, at the wholesale markets, where, as they say, the "wheeler-dealers wheel and deal" at ease?

Of primary importance is the protection of the marketplace from the control of the agents, known for their cupidity.

At this juncture, we learn that that in the wilaya Tipaza, having resolved to take the bull by the horns, has just reactivated a praiseworthy initiative and has opened sales outlets on the farms themselves, so that consumers can purchase provisions at reasonable prices. The experiment, first attempted two years ago during Ramadan at 80 sales outlets, has proven very encouraging, especially if at the same time, the government shows greater concern for the purchasing power of the lowest income groups.

Proud fathers and housewives exhausted by combing the market for produce at affordable prices, expressed their concern at spiralling prices very openly.

"Now only the authorities can protect us from these greedy merchants at every level who watch us and bleed us with almost complete impunity," said a disillusioned city worker whom we met on Premier Mai square. An old woman who does the daily shopping for her children lamented nostalgically: "In the old days, they used to compete to sell the most, and prices dropped every hour, so that by the end of the day, the poorest could find a little something to fill their baskets."

13014/9312  
CSO: 4519/83

## GOALS OF CONSTITUTIONAL UNION EXPLAINED

Casablanca LAMALIF in French Mar 86 pp 18-19

[Interview with Maati Bouabid; date and place not given]

[Excerpt] [Question] What are the rules of the present political game?

[Answer] The rules are established by the Constitution, and the political parties are, as you can see, numerous, and even too numerous, one might say. The Constitution allows for pluralism, and better still, opposes a single-party system. The political parties can be formed freely, whether they be old or new ones.

[Question] What are the limitations on this political game?

[Answer] They are as set forth in the law--a party is free until such time as it exceeds its rights. Of course, it must be allowed to function. We have a democratic regime, and as for us, we are just at the beginning. Sometimes there are clashes with the local officials of the Ministry of Interior, the regional authorities or the governors, and there are minor conflicts, which we do, however, settle. These are the objective limits. There are also more substantial limits in the thinking of the citizens. The people want and aspire to democracy, but everything happens as if they had to be pushed, since our citizens are not yet trained in democracy. We have begun, and that is a point won. Now we must continue without becoming discouraged, in the interests of democracy.

[Question] But what is the goal of political action--becoming an official of the government, or the parliament, or having one's ideas prevail...

[Answer] One can perfectly well proceed, or want to proceed, to be a member of a municipal or regional council or the parliament, all within the context established by the Constitution. As to what political ideas prevail, it suffices quite simply to avoid exceeding one's rights. We are currently pushing for the establishment of true liberalism and regionalization. In the parliament, we have submitted a draft law on a clearing arrangement for the debts of the state and the claims of enterprises against the state. But what I call the constant factors also constitute limits. Morocco is a Moslem and monarchic country, as established by the Constitution. It is necessary to develop within these limits.

[Question] Why was the UC created?

[Answer] We, together with some friends, determined that the so-called traditional parties had not achieved their goals. All of us, more or less, came from the Istiqlal (in 1951-52, in my case), and then the UNFP. Then there were endless splits, with the resulting exclusion of all of those who were young. In 1981, 1982 and 1983, the young people were not interested in politics or the state, but in civil service levels and personal comfort instead. And then there was the other youth, the abandoned youth, which plunged into drugs and escape. This group was given no guidance. I made a tour of Morocco and talked with young people in each town. I saw young people who had fallen through the cracks. Girls too were entirely abandoned. Thus we are trying to organize the young people in particular, while in the traditional parties, an unalterable gerontocracy reigns. There is no renewal, no life, and I would say that this is sclerosis. The young people are complete excluded. Of course, we do not claim to be able to solve these problems alone, but we are taking advantage of the enthusiasm of youth, and this is the main and essential reason our organization was created.

[Question] There have been derisive comments about your extremely rapid development, and you have even been called a "pressure-cooker" party. What have you to say about this?

[Answer] I know. As long as this was just a witticism, it was all right, but in the end this became a little vulgar. Apparently those who said this did not know of the work done since 1981, or wanted to ignore it, because the party was not developed in 2 months, and it is evidence of bad faith to say it was. But these people are not liberated. In political life, a veritable establishment exists, and the people are divided by their roles. You have here the progressives, there the Islamic faction, and over here the bourgeois, over there the mountain party and over here the modernist party. They have divided up Morocco. Obviously, then, when a newcomer arrives, he is not welcomed. Subsequently they saw the results. My answer is: "One can produce good food in a pressure cooker. On the other hand you have only the old stew pots, which produce nothing but bad soup." But it is unfortunate just the same that the authorities have not reacted to the press campaign directed above all against them, as was the case in Egypt, for example.

The authorities have been tolerant. Naturally, I attribute the reaction against us to bitterness, for these are the parties which have failed. They accuse us of being the apparatus of the administration, but I have asked them a thousand times a question they have never answered. "Why would the administration have chosen the UC? I was indeed prime minister, but a prime minister, as is well known, does not concern himself with the elections, and later I was no longer a minister, but on an equal footing with them.

[Question] You are contrasted with the National Movement, made up of the present opposition, and the source of almost all the political life in Morocco. What do you think about this?

[Answer] Why this monopoly for nationalism? Aren't the others nationalist as well? The old parties have sought to block all the paths. This is a



catastrophe. They left a vacuum. If they had fulfilled their duty by carrying out their staffing task...but they preferred total relaxation, absolutism and nepotism...a veritable establishment! Of course this happens in every country, but there is a minimum of credibility and good faith which must be provided in order to avoid sinking so low. For the time being, I say, we are perhaps the party which is most active. Our meetings and our work are regular. The task we have set ourselves is staffing.

[Question] When you say that you want to propose a clearing agreement for the debts and the credits of the state with regard to enterprises, might it not be assumed that you are functioning as an owners' party?

[Answer] In order to analyze our position, it is necessary to go back to about 1969, the "belle époque" of socialism in the Third World and Africa, after independence was won. There was enthusiasm for socialism everywhere. In Morocco as well, and even on the level of the government, in 1961, 1962 and 1963. We were attracted by socialism. It was then that all of the offices, all of the public establishments, were created. Now it is 1986 and all around us, everywhere in the Third World countries, "socialism," or rather statism, has failed. Look at Guinea, Tanzania, the Arab and African countries. All the forms of socialism have failed. It is on the basis of this analysis that we thought that there was another path which might help the countries of the Third World to emerge from their underdevelopment. This would mean the least possible state involvement, and creating confidence in the citizens. What is this liberalism? It is not the liberalism of the 18th and 19th centuries. We are trying to give the citizens of Morocco more confidence in their lives, their work, and their production, and more initiative. The private businessman must be above all a patriot. He is a factor in the development of the country, not a straw man. The businessman takes risks. This kind of businessman must be trained. Our liberalism is based on the defense of private enterprise, the large as well as the small or average business. We are looking above all toward the liberation of the individual, of his potential.

[Question] But there is nothing wrong in being the party of the owners.

[Answer] We in the UC have gone beyond this view of things. What must be borne in mind is the development of the spirit of enterprise, getting people to develop, to alter their behavior. History is full of examples of solidarity developed within business, for example in Japan, in West Germany, and in California, in the United States. The prosperity of business is of interest to everyone. In Japan, they have contracts for life, in order to avoid unemployment, but the employee accepts certain limitations. When this does not work, he understands that on the other hand he benefits from this prosperity. We are interested in the life of the enterprise and the economic development of the country. Thus, as you see, our ideas are very [balance of text missing from the original].

5157

CSO:4519/100



PPS LEADER DISCUSSES PARTY POLICY, OBJECTIVES

Casablanca LAMALIF in French Mar 86 pp 22-23

[Interview with Ali Yata; data and place not given]

[Text] What are the rules of the present political game?

[Answer] For us, there are no problems. We are an opposition party. We have always been that and we remain so. I am afraid that we will remain that for a long time to come. I do not hope for this, but I fear it. In the opposition, we succeed in expressing all our points of view. We defend the policy established by our congresses, and I must say, for those of us who have experienced difficult moments, that we are operating at present under relatively easy conditions. Our party is pursuing its actions publicly. We set forth our opinions without being bothered very much. From time to time censorship is exercised, but, thank God, it does not last long.

We have our public meetings. We have a multitude of premises throughout the country. We operate with the masses, led by the workers. We owe all this to our legal status and to the young Moroccan democracy. Put in another way, the legal status we won a little more than 10 years ago is a very great political conquest for us. Of course, it is not a gift which was given to us. Before being a legal party, we were a clandestine and then semiclandestine party, prohibited three times, with repressive measures on each occasion. Legality is the product of our struggle, just as democracy is the fruit of the struggle of the Moroccan people.

[Question] There are, however, limits?

[Answer] In fact, there are limits. But we make no concessions on our principles. We remain faithful to our doctrine, scientific socialism, to our organizational principles, democratic centralism, and to our real discipline, and on the political level, we have a platform we defend under all circumstances. We say what needs to be said at the present historic stage. We would not say more if there were no limits. Put in another way, the limits are not those of our relations with the government. All that we can express, in our current phase, we do express, to consolidate national independence, to perfect territorial unity, to expand democracy and to work toward the economic independence of the country and the development of its productive forces.

[Question] What place does the PPS occupy on the present political chessboard in the country?

[Answer] If we take the results of the last elections, both legislative and local, as the basis, it is a rather limited place. But the authorities themselves know that the PPS is infinitely more important and more representative than the results credited to it would indicate.

In fact, our country has developed greatly in the recent periods, more especially since Morocco established its democratic process. Our party has developed numerically. It is well structured, and has been established more or less everywhere in the country, including the Sahara. We nominated candidates everywhere in the Sahara during the last elections, and believe me, these candidates were militants in these very places, veritable Saharans. The PPS is well established in certain regions, for example Casablanca, the economic capital. It is also to be found in the rural sectors, in the Gharb, the Miknes region, more or less everywhere. We have a real influence among the young people, particularly the students. With its policy, its organization and its subordinate organizations for the women and young people and the cultural associations, our party constitutes an undeniable force, one which must be taken into account. Our party is vastly more important than some which have between 30 and 40 deputies in the parliament.

[Question] You have always urged unity for the national movement.

[Answer] We have always been advocates of such unity. This is the result of an analysis of the stage in which we are, the national democracy phase, which should lead Morocco to become an independent, united state with a valid economy and a certain democracy. Unity must be achieved by all of the progressive and patriotic forces in the country. It is the duty of all of these forces to create together the conditions for independence and for democracy, to build Morocco. Naturally, this cannot be done by the communists alone. The Istiqlal stands with us on certain positions, and we can go farther still with other forces, such as the USFP. Many national forces have an interest in the independence and territorial integrity of the country, in the existence of a certain democracy and in the economic development of the country. We believe that we can all act together to achieve these goals. And this is why we demand a national front.

Of course we are closer to certain progressive forces, such as the UNFP, with which we can go farther than with the Istiqlal or the RNI. We have in common with the USFP these basic goals we have just mentioned, and others, beyond the independence and democratization of Morocco--socialist goals for the coming stage, that following national democracy.

[Question] But how can this national front be achieved, in practice?

[Answer] There are no formulas which can be copied. It depends on the struggle to be waged and the efforts to be deployed. We have our concept of this union. First of all, an agreement on a joint platform must be established together. This is the easiest thing to achieve. Then there is the question of the means to be put to use to impose respect for this

platform, which is more difficult. There are a whole series of resources to be used. We can join our efforts in the parliament, although we do not have a majority. But we can create the conditions for imposing another majority. There are other means of struggle within legality, for example trade union action, as well as those which can exert a certain pressure and contribute to the achievement of this platform.

[Question] What are your structures? How many militants do you have?

[Answer] Three years ago, just prior to our last congress, we had 40,000 members. Not 40,000 militants, but 40,000 members, for we make the distinction. Thus, in a cell with 20 individuals or more--in the cities, our party is organized in neighborhood and enterprise cells, and in groups in the rural sector--thus in a cell, there is a nucleus of militants, who represent, let us say, one third. The others, the other two thirds, are members. They participate in and attend demonstrations and pay dues, but they are less active than the militants, and they do not carry out all of the tasks the militants do. This is the picture of our party in terms of cards issued. On the basis of 1 delegate for each 30 to 40 members, we had 1,200 delegates representing each region and each organization at our last congress. Now we are beginning preparations for our next congress, to be held early in 1987, and just prior to holding it, we will take an accurate census. We hope that we will have increased our ranks by then.

[Question] Thirty years have passed since independence was won, and now it is like a matter long settled. Where the IMF and the IBRD are concerned, is it not a new colonization which can be glimpsed, and are we not condemned to interdependence in the world today?

[Answer] In fact this is true. This is one of the subjects on which our party has focused most. Morocco no longer enjoys its independence on the economic level. While it is independent politically, we are unfortunately implementing what is imposed upon us from abroad, by the West, economically. Our government leaders are pursuing an economic and social policy drafted abroad and imposed upon them. This is very, very serious. Thirty years after winning our independence, we are back under a veritable foreign yoke, subject to international financial organizations which serve the interests of the multinational companies and trusts. As you can see, we are waging a constant struggle against a continuation of the current practice of the government leaders in our country. We urge veritable political and economic independence. We think that we have the means for achieving that independence. This is a point of view we share with the USFP, almost a joint platform for achieving independence for our country and the development, using our own resources, of our productive forces. Of course this must be done without lapsing into isolation or creating a break with our Western partners. We need to cooperate with them, but this cooperation must develop with respect for the independence of our country and its political framework. This is the most basic reason for our opposition to the political forces in this government and the preceding ones.

[Question] If you had to define your goals briefly, what would they be?

[Answer] Consolidation of our national independence, protection and strengthening of our territorial integrity, economic independence for Morocco, economic and democratic development such as to guarantee the improvement of social conditions for the people of Morocco.

## BOURGUIBA RECEIVES 'NEW' UGTT LEADERS

LD011930 Kuwait KUNA in Arabic 1500 GMT 1 May 86

[Text] Tunis, 1 May (KUNA)--President Habib Bourguiba of Tunisia received here today the members of the new Executive Bureau of the Tunisian General Federation of Labor [UGTT], the trade union federation which is opposed to the other Executive Bureau of the union led by Habib Achour who is now in jail.

The workers supporting the new Executive Bureau of the union had concluded last night meetings that had lasted 2 days and described as a "corrective conference of the Tunisian General Union of Labor."

At the end of the conference in question, Ismail Lajri was elected secretary general of the trade unions federation. He is aided by 12 members of the Executive Bureau as assistant secretary generals. They are:

- Ali Lachaal, internal affairs;
- Abdessatar Chinnaoui, financial and administrative affairs;
- Hamed Rouis, Arab relations and emigrant workers;
- Taieb Mansour, foreign relations;
- Hamed Dabbabi, information;
- Moncef Kmar, studies and documentation;
- Belgacem Lahmadi, orientation, trade unionist training and labor education;
- Ali Smiri, legislation and contentious business;
- Mohamed Sghaier Dabbasi, civil service and local affairs;
- Mohamed Aïmi, offices and public companies;
- Hamadi Dribek, social projects, labor environment and union institutions;
- Hedi Mouha, private sector relations.

The repercussions of the new Executive Bureau elections on the Tunisian Trade Unions situation are not yet clearly known.

/12232

CSO: 4500/123

# FLATTO-SHARON'S ESCAPE FROM ITALIAN JAIL DESCRIBED

Tel Aviv YEDI'OT AHARONOT in Hebrew 15 Apr 86 pp 1, 13

[Text] "Did I escape? I did not. I arrived where I belong. I had a lot of pull. I arrived with no papers, passport, or name--with nothing. That's the trick. European Jews helped me. They did it all free of charge. Not one cent."

The speaker: Flatto-Sharon, on 14 April, several hours after landing at Ben Gurion Airport, was in his daughter Hilda Gozlan's home in Hertzliya Pitu'ah.

The plane which brought him home landed at 17:55. His aide, Gilbert 'Amar and his daughter Hilda waited impatiently for the plane to open. A few seconds later they sighed with relief. The operation was successful. Flatto was coming off the plane smiling and happy.

Even those closest to him found it difficult to recognize him. His face was made up, his hair was dyed blond in front and gray in back, and he lost about 5 lbs, as he himself admitted later.

Some passengers recognized him in the plane and showed support and sympathy. People who recognized him in the airport called "Flatto, Flatto." Handshakes, kisses, hugs. Policemen welcomed him as a VIP and said: "Welcome." There were no problems with customs. Flatto had nothing to declare.

"If I am home that means that everything is OK," he tells the reporters who are trying to find out about his escape.

Later, in his daughter's home, secure and happy, he is willing to tell the story: "All along I planned how to get out of there. From the minute I was put in jail I started planning how to get out. The day after I escaped I already had a plan of how to come back home. I passed three borders without a passport or any other document. I was really scared. This is playing with my own life. But as they say in French, what is courage? That's when you are afraid but go on. It was all accomplished with Zionist Jews who thought like me that what was done to me here was downright ugly."

He accuses the police, but is not willing to name names. "I love my people, but even Jews are sometimes bad. I don't accuse the whole police force, only



those who are at the helm. When I was in Italy I was led to understand that there was a telegram from Israel and that was why I was arrested. I failed to understand why I had not been arrested in Israel if there was any case against me. Why was it necessary to have non-Jews arrest me? I am willing to be tried here. If I am found guilty they can then extradite me to France. But I am not willing to be tried in France where an accused person may be in jail for years before his case comes up.

"I told the Italian judge at the circuit court there: My country also has a supreme court and a police. Why is it necessary to employ such pirates' methods against me? Why don't the French come to a court in my country with an extradition request? The French did nothing to me here in Israel. But they sure made a big issue of it in Italy. After all, I did not disappear. Everyone knows where I live."

He says that he will not travel abroad any more. At least not in the near future. He only feels safe in Israel. "This is my home."

He would rather not talk about the prison. "Prison is prison. It was very bad. Especially for people like me who are used to the good life. I had contacts with Israel all the time. At first people were afraid to help me, but later many politicians started to help. I don't want to mention any names, so as to not insult those who did not help. I received 50 letters a day from all kinds of people. The warden told me: 'You receive more letters than everyone else put together.'"

His wife Annette is in France with their son. She was due in Israel on 16 April. "I only contacted her when it was all over to tell her. She was very excited. Now they will come home. Too bad my son had to miss school."

He returned to his home in Savyon at midnight. In the next few days he wants to go visit the Western Wall and put a prayer note there. He says that the sympathy he received does not really surprise him. "I love Jews. It is only normal for them to love me, too. I did a lot for this country. I don't expect anyone to come and thank me. But it is normal that I be loved, just like I love the country and do things for it."

YEDI'OT AHARONOT reporter Arye Avneri reports that the spiriting of Flatto-Sharon from Italy was planned very meticulously. An escape car was waiting in which he crossed the border to Switzerland. A Swissair flight was booked from Zurich.

Several people visited with him in recent months. Among them his wife Annette, his son-in-law Serge Gozlan, and his attorney Yitzhaq Lalo. The three maintained total silence regarding his return to Israel.

One of the first things Flatto-Sharon intends to investigate is how the trap was laid for his arrest in Italy. Some private investigators claimed that they had used "sting" style diversionary tactics to ward off the French authorities.



YEDI'OT AHARONOT reporter Gad Li'or adds that no decision has yet been made at the Justice Ministry as to how to deal with the former member of Knesset who landed at Ben Gurion Airport so unexpectedly.

The circuit court in Jerusalem stated recently that Shmu'el Flatto-Sharon can be extradited to France. Mr Flatto-Sharon appealed the decision to the Supreme Court. In the meantime he left for Italy and was arrested there. Now that he escaped and returned to Israel they say that his extradition case is open.

YEDI'OT AHARONOT reporter Moshe Ronen adds that according to Prof Sne'ur Zalman Feler, a Hebrew University expert on international criminal law and matters of extradition, he cannot be extradited according to Israeli law. He may be tried in Israel. Thus he is protected from the Italians, but not from the French. The offenses he is accused of having committed took place before he became an Israeli citizen. He may later on be extradited to France for trial there.

Israeli police spokesman, 'Adi Gonen, said on 14 April in response to an inquiry by YEDI'OT AHARONOT reporter that the case of Flatto-Sharon's return to Israel will be investigated. It is suspected that he forged a document, or misrepresented himself in some way. In any event, there will be an investigation.

It seems that Flatto-Sharon managed to cross the border into Switzerland using a forged passport, probably with a false name. The passport he used to enter Italy was surrendered to the authorities there and is still in the hands of the Italian police.

In any event, it is clear that he crossed the border, boarded a plane to Israel and went through passport inspection at Ben Gurion Airport and at every point he had to present a passport.

It was reported from Paris that the French authorities were incensed at his escape to Israel. Anger is mostly against the Italian court which set bail for him and thus enabled his escape while the French were still negotiating for his extradition. It seems that France will now pressure Israel to push the legal process for Flatto-Sharon's extradition to France; this request has been in the courts for years.

8646

CSO: 4233/108

FUTURE TRADE RELATIONS WITH PHILIPPINES DISCUSSED

Tel Aviv SHA'AR in Hebrew 25 Apr 86 p 2

[Text] Recent political upheaval in the Philippines has raised concern regarding the future of economic and trade relations with that country.

As was originally published in SHA'AR, embassy workers were forced (or, according to another source, "volunteered") to go to Australia until things calmed down.

Some of the families of Israeli economic representatives have also left Manila for other countries in the region.

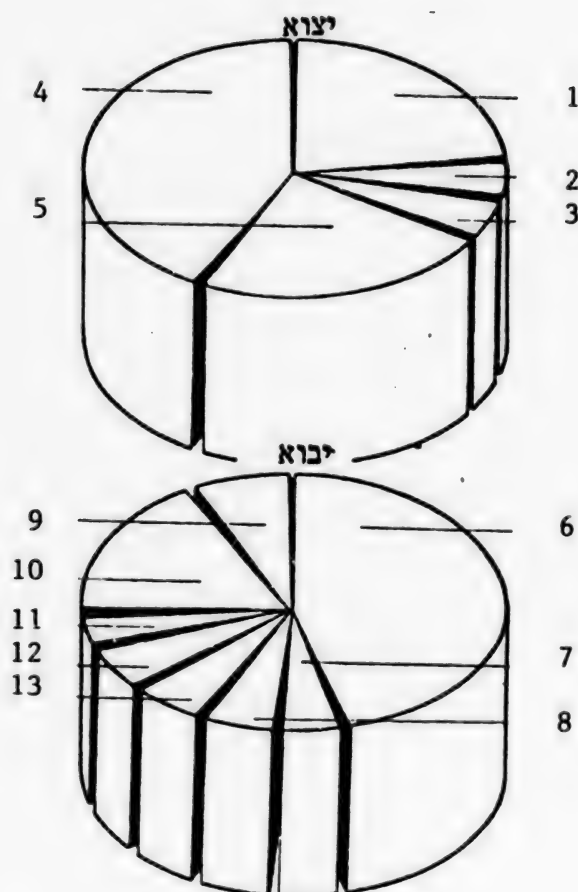
The fear is, as this reported discerned from conversations with Israeli economic representatives in the Philippines, that economic agreements, achieved after a lot of work, and which just recently began to be implemented, will be impacted.

Israel saw an increase in exports to the Philippines in 1985. This happened even after discussions at the "Paris Club" and international bank ended with a decision to give that country a reprieve in paying its debts.

Israeli exports to the Philippines totaled \$3.3 million in 1984. In the first 9 months of 1985 they increased by 42 percent. Imports from the Philippines are much lower.

The most active group in the Philippines is the (Trade Union Congress) which takes advantage of any loophole for expanding exports. Among others it represents companies like Makhteshim, Netafim, the Nesher Cement Works, Alliance and scores of other Israeli firms.

The estimate is that if conditions in the Philippines stabilize, it will be possible to export agricultural chemicals, cement, equipment for the food industry and packing, security systems, petrochemical products and more.



#### Top diagram

Commercial Ties Israel--the Philippines  
(Jan-Sep 1985, according to the Central  
Bureau of Statistics)

#### Imports

1. Electronics, optics, photographic equipment, watches, musical instruments	21%
2. Diamonds, gold, precious stones	5%
3. Wool, paper, cardboard products	5%
4. Miscellaneous	43%
5. Food, tobacco, medicine, tea, coffee	26%

Exports

6. Chemicals	44%
7. Electronics	6%
8. Metals and machinery	6%
9. Wool products	9%
10. Rubber and plastics	25%
11. Miscellaneous	2%
12. Light industry	5%
13. Processed food	5%

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CSO: 4423/108

ISRAEL

DRILLING FOR OIL TO BEGIN AT NEW SITE IN NEGEV

Tel Aviv HA'ARETZ in Hebrew 15 Apr 86 p 5

[Text] Nafta, whose stock is traded on the exchange, was to start new drilling on the week of 20 Apr. The site is Heletz 38, in Heletz, in the Negev. The cost of the drilling, planned to a depth of 2,000 meters, is estimated at \$800,000, if no oil is found, and \$1.2 million if oil is found. The purpose of the drilling is to investigate additional geological strata in Heletz, which have heretofore not been examined. Nafta will be the prime contractor and is currently looking for other partners for the project.

Nafta is also drilling at Roni 1 for Deleq Hipusey Neft. Drilling to 2,000 meters has recently been completed and production tests are now under way. It has been reported that in some layers oil mixed with water was found and the feasibility of commercial production is being evaluated.

Nafta is a publicly owned company, a subsidiary of Lapidot. Stock owners own 7 percent of the outstanding stocks. Nafta has a positive cash flow, especially from gas fields which it owns, which supply gas to 'Arad. Lapidot has recently drilled at Kokhav 6, in Heletz. The well is of commercial grade and is producing 100 barrels a day.

In view of lower world oil prices the feasibility of oil exploration and new drilling has gone down in recent months. Even the Energy Ministry is not encouraging new drilling activities, but instead concentrates its activities on geological surveys. The only investor group that is about to start any substantial drilling activity is the Omer group, which is concentrating its exploration around Mt Negev.

8646  
CSO: 4423/108



## BRIEFS

POPULATION CENSUS--The Israeli population currently numbers 4,300,000 people, of whom approximately 3.5 million are Jews and constitute 82 percent of the population, 13 percent are Muslim; and Christians make up approximately 2.5 percent. The Druze sect and other small minorities number 73,000 people, and they account for more than 1.5 percent of the entire population. Since the State of Israel was first established, its Jewish population has multiplied nearly 5.5 times. [Text] [Jerusalem Domestic Service in Hebrew 1500 GMT 13 May 86 TA]

DEMOGRAPHIC STATISTICS--A statistical survey shows that if the current demographic trends continue, the rate of non-Jews among the Israeli population in the year 2000 will reach 22 percent, compared to a little over 17 percent 18 months ago. Diaspora Jews might number only 6 million in the year 2025, compared to 9.5 million last year. The survey was compiled by Prof Roberto Backi of the Hebrew University of Jerusalem, and it projects an increase in average age in addition to the decline in the number of Jews. [Summary] [Jerusalem Domestic Service in Hebrew 0500 GMT 11 May 86 TA]

/12929

CSO: 4400/172

## WATER COLLECTION BENEFITS FROM NEW DAMS NOTED

Oman 'UMAN in Arabic 24 Feb 86 p 2

[Article by Muhammad Hawari: "Quarter Million Cubic Meters of Rain Water Collected by Wadi Qurayyat Dam"]

[Text] The country has received its first benefit from dams collecting rain water and subterranean feeding. During the recent rainfalls which were witnessed by the country, Wadi Qurayyat dam in Bahla, and al-Himayah dam in (Khawr al-Risagh) in Sur collected great amounts of rain water.

'UMAN also was informed that the amount of water that was collected by the Wadi Qurayyat dam in Bahla has reached 1/4 million cubic meters, and it is the estimated collectible amount for every stream in the valley. It is estimated that this dam twice annually collects 1/2 million cubic meters of water and protects the agricultural land nearby from flooding.

Furthermore, the water level in al-Himayah dam in (Khawr al-Risagh) in the state of Sur had risen the day following the end of the rainfall to 20 cm.

It is also known that al-Himayah dam in (Khawr al-Risagh) in the state of Sur was inaugurated in the last quarter of last year, and was built at a distance of 6 km west of the state of Sur. Its goal is to prevent salty sea water from entering the inner (Khawr al-Risagh), threatening the farm lands, and preventing the flow of the valley's fresh water. The goal is also to accumulate part of the fresh water during flooding long enough to wash the salts and to reclaim new farm lands.

The Wadi Qurayyat dam in the state of Bahla was completed by the builder in the middle of the current February, and aims at accumulating rain waters in order to benefit from the 1/2 million cubic meters of water annually. The length of the dam in the Wadi Sayfam is 417 meters and its length in the eastern sector is 330 meters, plus a mud dam whose length is 975 meters.

Experts from the Ministry of Agriculture and Fisheries embarked on an inspection visit to the dam following the recent rains, ensuring that there were no cracks in it which may have been caused by the strength of the water pressure which rose during the rains and covered all segments of the dam, proving its effectiveness against the goals set for its completion.

The amounts of water which were accumulated by the Wadi Qurayyat and al-Himayah dam in (Khawr al-Risagh) in Sur, are considered the first true benefits from the subterranean feeding dams which were built in the country in accordance with the plans to build many dams in the most important valleys in the Sultanate in order to accumulate and store the largest amount of rain water instead of wasting it in the sea.

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## GOVERNMENT DISTRIBUTES LAND TO CITIZENS

Oman 'UMAN in Arabic 27 Feb 86 p 1

[Editorial: "11,000 Pieces of Land Distributed to the Citizens"]

[Text] The Ministry of Housing distributed 11,000 pieces of industrial, residential, commercial, and agricultural land in 1 month in the areas of the capital, and in the interior, the al-Sharqiyah, the al-Batinah, and the al-Zahirah regions in accordance with the rules and regulations of entitlement of government land.

His Excellency 'Abdallah bin Darwish al-Oasimi, the acting undersecretary of the Ministry of Housing, explained that the ministry is doing its utmost in the realm of land distribution for various uses from residential, commercial, industrial, and agricultural lands to the deservingly entitled citizens in accordance with the Venerable Sultan Decree number 81/84 in regard to law of governmental land entitlement. The number of distributed land portions has reached 10,939.

His excellency also said 1,821 pieces of land were distributed in the capital of which 1,507 were residential, 197 commercial, and 126 industrial. In the al-Sharqiyah and al-Batinah areas 6,235 pieces were distributed of which were 4,037 residential, 578 commercial, 105 industrial, and 1,515 agricultural in states of Sur, al-Kamil, al-Wafi, Ja'lan, Bani Bu Hasan, Ja'lan Bani Bu 'Ali, Bani Khalid Valley, Ibra', Qabil, al-Bediyah, Mudaybi, Dima, Adam, Manah, Qurayyat, Fanjah, Wadi Bidbid, and Masirah.

In the areas of al-Batina and al-Zahirah, 2,883 pieces were distributed, of which 2,578 were residential, and 305 commercial in the states of Barka', al-al-Masna'ah, al-Suwayq, Nakhl, al-Ma'awil, Wadi, al-Rustaq, al-'Awabi, Khaburah, Saham, Shinas, 'Abri, (al-Liwa'), and Yanqul.

His Excellency Abdallah Bin Darwish al-Qasimi acting undersecretary of the Ministry of Housing ended his statement saying that these distributions come within the revered basic orders of our sovereign, His Highness Sultan Qabus bin Sa'id, the exalted, to provide the citizens with land for a variety of use in accordance with the rules of acquisition to enable every Omani to live in the shadow of peace and stability which Oman enjoys under the guiding leadership of our sovereign, may God protect him.

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## PRICE STABILIZATION FOR FOOD PRODUCTS CONFIRMED

Oman 'UMAN in Arabic 27 Feb 86 p 2

[Article by 'Abdallah Hasan: "Chairman of the Foodstuffs Committee Confirms at the Chamber of Commerce the Stability of Food Stuffs Prices"]

[Text] The Food Stuffs Committee of the Chamber within Oman's Chamber of Commerce and Industry held a meeting yesterday morning chaired by 'Abdallah bin Husayn bin Baqir, treasurer of the chamber, and chairman of the committee. The meeting was attended by the committee's members, and the major food stuffs merchants in the Sultanate, in order to discuss food stuffs prices in light of the fluctuating value of the world's currency.

'Abdallah bin Husayn bin Baqir explained that during the meeting, a review was undertaken of the rising costs of food items in the Sultanate during the past 2 years, and follow-up was made on the decisions of the past two meetings which were held in the Chamber of Commerce with his excellency, the minister of trade and industry, and his honor, the commissioner, in regard to food stuffs prices in the Omani market following the adjustment in the price of the Omani rial.

The chairman of the food stuffs committee in the chamber confessed that all the merchants from the capital and the interior region are responding and cooperating with the decisions of the Ministry of Trade and Industry, and with the chamber in this regard, and this in order to decrease the burden on the citizens during this period.

'Abdallah bin Husayn bin Baqir pointed out in statements he made following the meeting that the world prices have witnessed great fluctuations during the past few months. Likewise, there is an increase in the prices of European currencies by a percentage varying between 6 and 8.1. This confirms the harmony between the merchants and the Omani market, and prices not being raised excessively.

He also said that the prices of local products did not go up, and some Omani companies were forced to raise prices by a percentage rate fluctuating between 5 to 10.1 due to the increased cost of raw material, which they used in their products, and because of the devaluation of the Omani rial against the American dollar.



The chairman of the food stuffs committee in the Omani Chamber of Commerce and Industry also confirmed that the prices are currently stable in the local markets on most food items indicating that there is a rise in the prices of imported food laws, but when comparing them with the prices in other countries, we find that there is a big difference in favor of the Omani citizen.

He added that committee discussed the difficulties which face food importers and among these is the subject of refrigeration and securing the necessary storage facilities in the port area in order to protect food commodities. This issue was raised with the administrative board of the council in order to bring it up with the concerned authorities.

'Abdallah bin Husayn bin Baqir then praised the great cooperation and the noteworthy role which the Agency for Storage of Food Reserves and the private sector are playing in the field of food stuffs, and at the same time the cooperation of the merchants with the agency which has provided the market of the interior region with the necessary goods and commodities, and lessened the burden on the area of capital and led to price stabilization. He also confirmed the stability of prices in the local markets in relation to food stuffs.

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CSO: 4404/245

## BRIEFS

SULTAN QABUS TOURS COUNTRYSIDE--His Majesty's "meet the people" tour continued this week during which he attended exercises by the Royal Guard Brigade. New weaponry was described to His Majesty and he personally tested some of the weapons. He instructed the Ministers with him to discuss the needs of the people who came to the Royal Camp. The Ministers also visited Yibal oilfield. The Ministers included the Deputy Prime Minister for Financial and Economic Affairs, Qais bin Abdul Munim al Zawawi; Petroleum and Minerals Minister Said bin Ahmed al Shanfari; Electricity and Water Minister, Khalfan bin Nassir al Wahaibi; Information Minister, Abdul Aziz bin Mohammed al Rowas; Commerce and Industry Minister, Colonel Salim bin Abdulla al Ghazali, the Minister of Posts, Telephones and Telegraphs, Ahmed bin Suwaidan al Balushi and the Personal Advisor to His Majesty the Sultan for Economic Planning Affairs, Mohammed al Zubair. They toured the oilfield and met Omani engineers and technicians, whom they urged to set an example to young people by even greater efforts. The Minister of Education and Youth Affairs Yahya bin Mahfoudh al Manthery says that his Ministry plans to extend educational services to the remaining few areas where such services do not exist. Mr Manthery who is accompanying His Majesty on the tour told the Press that primary education services were not covering various desert and border areas. He also pointed out that thanks to the special attention given to the education sector by His Majesty educational services will be further developed. His Majesty later visited the areas around Haima and Adam and was given a warm welcome by the people. Then there was a visit to the Arabian oryx sanctuary and wildlife reserve at Wadi Yalouni. During discussions with the staff, His Majesty urged them to continue with the good work they have been doing. His Majesty on Sunday met Sheikhs and prominent figures of nine wilayats -- Bidbid, Sumayil, Izki, Manah, Nizwa, Al Hamra, Bahla, Adam and Haima -- and assured a continuance of the development processes in the nation. He said that recent achievements were only the beginning of the development programmes that will be carried out in a phased manner. During the meeting, in which he listened to the people's requirements, they expressed their gratitude and loyalty to His Majesty. [Text] [Muscat TIMES OF OMAN in English 1 May 86 p 22] /12851

CHAMBER OF COMMERCE MEMBERSHIP GROWING--The Oman Chamber of Commerce and Industry has recorded a 20.6 percent increase in membership during 1985. The annual report of the Chamber puts the number of members at 25,172 as on December 1985 compared to 20,876 in 1984. The number of companies registered with the Chamber has also increased considerably. International companies increased by 102

percent, Excellent Grade companies by 45.2, Grade I companies by 26.4 percent, Grade II by 27.3 percent, Grade III by 21.4 percent and Grade IV by 18.5 percent. Economic activity in the interior registered an increase during the year. Membership at the Chamber's regional offices at Nizwa, Sohar, Sur and Salalah rose between 42.4 percent to 101.3 percent. The total number of new companies registered during 1985 were 5,239, including 642 in Salalah, 725 in Nizwa, 480 in Sur and 1075 in Sohar. Registration of new companies in the Capital Area declined during 1985. The number of new companies was 2317, compared to 3660 in 1985. Labour contracts endorsed by the Chamber for its members were 1968 in the Capital Area, Salalah 233, Nizwa 6, Sur 11 and Sohar 54. About 279 certificates of origin were issued by the Chamber while the total number of documents endorsed by the Chamber were 3,406. Thirteen trade delegations visited Oman during 1985. These came from Taiwan, Thailand, Britain, Cyprus, Malaysia, China, Bangladesh, Haiti, Italy, Singapore and India. Omani delegations visited Sharjah, Malaysia, Thailand, Italy, West Germany, Yugoslavia, South Korea, Japan and Britain. Twenty-four trade exhibitions were held in Muscat during the year while the Sultanate held 'Omani Weeks' in London and several other European capitals. [By Muzaffar Mohammad] [Text] [Muscat TIMES OF OMAN in English 1 May 86 p 15] /12851

ECOLOGICAL STUDY IN PREPARATION--The scope to conserve soil and range ecology in the Southern Region is fairly good, according to Majoub Zaraug, an FAO specialist in range management. Mr Zaraug, who completed a week-long exploratory mission in Oman at the invitation of the Agriculture and Fisheries Ministry, said last week that he would submit a report on his observations, and outline a range management programme. The pressure on the grasslands of the southern ranges due to over grazing by the increasing livestock population necessitates planned management of the ranges and a check on deteriorating soil conditions, he said. Mr Zaraug, who was formerly an adviser to the Omani Government for two years, met officials. Before leaving for Rome, the FAO headquarters, Mr Zaraug said the success of any range management programme depended upon the cooperation of the people who used the grasslands to support their livestock. [Text] [Muscat TIMES OF OMAN in English 1 May 86 p 8] /12851

NEW FLIGHTS CONNECTING NORTH, SOUTH--Oman Aviation Services will operate a new flight to Salalah on Thursdays, effective from June 1 to enable Government employees to spend the weekend with their families. The flight leaving Muscat at 1400 hours has been timed to coincide the closing of ministries on Thursdays, said Murtadha bin Mohsin bin Ali, Commercial Manager, Oman Aviation Services. With the addition of this flight the total number of weekly flights connecting North and South of Oman will be 12. The other flights to Salalah by F-27 aircraft are on Friday, Saturday, Sunday, Tuesday and Wednesday. The excursion fare for a weekend at Salalah is R.O.44. The National domestic airline will also increase the frequency of flights between Muscat and Buraimi from four to five per week. A new flight has been planned for Thursdays in the summer schedule to attract people to spend a weekend at Buraimi. Oman Aviation also operates flights to Sur, Khasab, Baya in Musandam and Masirah Island. The number of domestic flights for destinations in the North are 4 for Sur, Khasab 6, Masirah 3, and Baya 5 in a week. These flights are operated by Twin Otters with 19-seat capacity. The fleet of OAS consists of four F-27 and 2 Twin Otters. OAS has sales and reservation offices at Ruwi, Salalah, Khasab and Masirah. A new office will be shortly opened at Baya. [By Muzaffar Mohammad] [Text] [Muscat TIMES OF OMAN in English 1 May 86 p 3] /12851

NEW POTENTIAL ENERGY SOURCES EXPLORED--The possibility of increasing the use of wind, solar and bio-gas energy is being explored in the Sultanate. Authorities are studying the prospects of utilising these new sources of energy on an increased scale in the fields of pumping water, water desalination, and to run more solar-powered meteorological stations. Mahmood Saleh, the Regional Technical Adviser of new and renewable sources of energy, United Nations Economic and Social Commission for Western Asia (ESCWA), has completed a ten-day exploratory visit to Oman as a consultant. Mr Saleh, whose visit comes through the efforts of the UNDP in Oman, said that "there could be wider applications of wind and solar energy here with a little technical assistance." He said the new sources of energy could be particularly useful in the remote areas where it is difficult to generate power by conventional sources. Installation, operation and maintenance of a wind or solar-powered desalination plant or a water pumping system were relatively simple. Mr Saleh said and added that the personnel needed to oversee was also less. Besides, he said applications of these new sources of energy were almost entirely pollution-free. [Text] [Muscat TIMES OF OMAN in English 8 May 86 p 5] /12851

NEW ENVOYS PRESENT CREDENTIALS--Five new non-resident ambassadors to Oman presented copies of their credentials to the Minister of State for Foreign Affairs, Yusuf bin Alawi bin Abdallah. The ambassadors are Zain al Abidin bin Elias of Malaysia; Carlos Drish Yartchi of Chile; John Kenneth Kinghan of New Zealand; Nizimana Joseph of Rwanda and Ibrahim Abdulla Ibrahim of Comoro Islands. [Text] [Muscat TIMES OF OMAN in English 8 May 86 p 3] /12851

OMAN MILITARY PRAISED--Colonel Hanns-Rolf Hallerbach, one of Europe's leading defence correspondents, has published an assessment of the Sultanate's military capacity in the influential Swiss military journal, "Asmz", following his visit to Oman. He describes the capabilities of the Sultan's Airforce as having reached "the most modern NATO standards", and praises the degree of cooperation which has been achieved with friendly countries without allowing foreign bases to be established in Oman. Turning to the navy, Colonel Hallerbach says, "Omanis are a seafaring nation with a deep rooted tradition. Their pride and courage are difficult to exceed." Describing the high state of efficiency achieved by the Sultan's Armed Forces, he says that Exercise Ra'ad, the comprehensive manoeuvres which were held last year, proved "a considerable success" and justified the high regard in which the Armed Forces are held by the Omani people. [Text] [Muscat TIMES OF OMAN in English 8 May 86 p 9] /12851

OMANIS ABROAD RECALLED--Oman has called upon all "misled opposition elements" residing abroad to return to their homeland. The call, in an announcement by the Foreign Ministry on Thursday, came under the framework of the Sultanate's policy to provide a better life and stability for its people. The Ministry urged them to make best use of the opportunity, adding that the country's door would be open to them from the date of announcement until 31 December 1986. The announcement said the Government would take the responsibility of providing those who return with suitable jobs and help them to settle down in the country under His Majesty Sultan Qaboos' leadership. The Foreign Ministry also urged Omani students studying abroad at the expense of foreign parties to return during the same period and submit their applications to the Ministry to continue their

studies, the expenses of which would then be met by the Government of Oman. Qualification certificates of those students who failed to do so would not be recognised by the Ministry of Education and Youth Affairs, the Foreign Ministry announcement added. While calling all concerned to respond to "this kind gesture," the Ministry said the Government would not be responsible for those who did not heed the call during the stipulated period. [Text] [Muscat TIMES OF OMAN in English 24 Apr 86 p 6] /12851

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## PALESTINIAN AFFAIRS

### LONDON PAPER INTERVIEWS 'ARAFAT IN CAIRO

London AL-TADAMUN in Arabic 5 Apr 86 pp 71-74

[Interview with Yasir 'Arafat by Hamidah Na'na': "The Balkanization Conspiracy Covers the Area from the Gulf to Sudan; the Middle East Will Become Reagan's Vietnam; Deluded by the Arrogance of Power Reagan Is Driving Americans into Direct Involvement in the Middle East;" in Cairo; date not specified]

[Text] "There is no crisis between us and the Soviets."

"All our resources are being made available to fellow Arabs in the Gulf."

"Sudan is being subjected to a Balkanization conspiracy, and Arabs must stand by its side."

"We will not yield any of our fundamental invariable principles, and there will be no traitors in our midst."

It is 1 a.m., and we are still waiting for PLO Chairman Yasir 'Arafat in one of the rooms at al-'Urubah Palace. AL-TADAMUN had an appointment to interview him at 10 p.m. Colleagues and media officials had urged me to be on time for my scheduled appointment with Mr 'Arafat because Abu 'Ammar would not be free after that; he was scheduled to meet a number of Egyptian figures. But it is now 1 a.m., and Abu 'Ammar is not yet in the palace. Of course, no one knows where he is. This has become one of 'Arafat's habits--if one may say. He changes the schedule at the last moment, and he moves quickly from one location to another. That habit did save his life more than once in Beirut, Tripoli and Tunisia. People close to 'Arafat assert that his sense of security, which defines where danger may lie for him, works non-stop.

Abu 'Ammar had been invited that evening to a working dinner with the minister of the interior, which lasted till 10 o'clock. After that neither we nor his companions in the palace could determine where he went. But we discovered 2 days after this interview that Mr Yasir 'Arafat had left the official dinner with the minister of the interior and gone to the house of Mr Khalid Muhyi-al-Din, the leader of the Grouping Party. From there he went to see his sister, Mrs In'am. Ever since his return to Egypt, Abu 'Ammar has tried, every time he visits the country, to call on leaders of political parties, national figures and newspaper

offices. And every time 'Arafat visits Egypt, his visit becomes a stirring media event as broadcasters, magazines and newspapers discuss the Palestinian question, the peace initiatives and the PLO. If there is anything positive about Mr Yasir 'Arafat's return to Egypt, other than his own personal thoughts on the matter, it is his ability to create a climate that is quite different from the provincial climate of isolation which prevailed during President Anwar al-Sadat's administration. During that period al-Sadat was able to make the huge media machinery that he had inherited from 'Abd-al-Nasir work against the Arab world. It is unfortunate that this period produced people who theorized about Egypt's isolation. Authors wrote about it, and business men and profiteers benefited from it. Although the media's policy has been changed, these people still control a significant sector of Egypt's media, and they take advantage of any opportunity to speak up against any rapprochement between Egypt and the Arabs.

It is 1:30 a.m.; Abu 'Ammar arrives; he is accompanied by a few Palestinians. He enters the room, greets everyone of us and apologizes for the delay. Then he escorts the son of al-Shaykh Hasan al-Banna, who was waiting to see him, out of the room, and the two men go to another room in the palace. I thought that we were not going to meet 'Arafat before 4 a.m. as we did when he was in Beirut. The Palestinian leader's lifestyle has nothing to do with ordinary life. He sleeps very little, and he is always on the go. He works till the early hours of the morning, and after getting one or two hours of sleep, he gets up and travels from one country to another. After the Palestinian Revolution's departure from Beirut and the loss of its base in Lebanon, it turned into a "flying carpet" revolution, as it is called now. This description is accurate to a large extent because the Palestinian Revolution's forces are scattered today among nine Arab countries. But the situation is even more difficult for the Palestinian people because the number of Palestinians living in diaspora today is much greater than the number of Palestinians living in Palestinian territory.

Abu 'Ammar is in Cairo, and conducting an interview with him was not going to be easy under these extremely complicated circumstances surrounding the Palestinian question. There is fragmentation on the Arab scene as well as conflict, division and tribal warfare. Because we noticed that Abu 'Ammar appeared exhausted, we agreed to postpone the interview to the following day. We did in fact meet with him the following day after he returned from a meeting with President Husni Mubarak. Abu 'Ammar appeared relaxed and cheerful, and we conducted this interview with him.

[Question] AL-TADAMUN is just starting its fourth year. We believe that we did everything we could do during the past 3 years to serve the interests of national issues, chief among which is the Palestinian question. Do you believe that our efforts have been successful, or do you find faults in those efforts that you hope will not be repeated during the magazine's fourth year?

[Answer] First of all, please convey my thanks to Mr Fu'ad Matar for what he wrote after my visit to Khartoum. Everyone was against us then after the Achille Lauro incident and the air raid on Tunisia. Fu'ad wrote an editorial comparing my visit to President 'Abd-al-Nasir's visit in 1967. He said that the people of Khartoum had come out to greet two people: 'Abd-al-Nasir after June, and Abu 'Ammar in 1985. In both cases the Sudanese people expressed the conscience of

the Arab nation. It was a splendid editorial that moved me. No matter what comments I may have had, they have all been wiped out by what I read in that editorial.

[Question] Before I start asking you about Palestinian and Arab worries--and they are many as you well know--I would like to ask you about your travels which never end, and I'd like to ask you about the airplane which has been turned into headquarters. I'd like to ask you about that after a Libyan airplane was forced to land in Israel. Doesn't Abu 'Ammar fear travel, or has he resigned himself to the will of God and accepted whatever fate may bring?

[Answer] First of all I am a man who believes in God, and my faith, thank God, takes the fear out of my heart. The prophetic tradition advises us to understand what we're up against and to trust in God. That is what I do: I understand what I'm up against, and I trust in God. I cannot do anything else. I have to stand up to the United States and Israel with all their might and terrorism. The moment I fear such a confrontation, I would have to relinquish my position to a fellow Palestinian because I would then become unworthy of that position. Today, I take more security precautions than I did in the past, and I am known among my fellow citizens for having a sixth sense for security.

[Question] Aren't you tired of traveling? Does flying help you forget the difficulties and the real overwhelming problems that our nation and the Palestinian cause are going through?

[Answer] I do not travel to forget. My travels are necessary and required by the conditions of our revolution. At this stage, my country is a suitcase, as Muhammad Darwish says. It is the suitcase I take along and worry about when I travel. Until I can settle down in Jerusalem, I have no other choice. I have no other country. Let us not forget that our forces are scattered among nine Arab countries and that I have to be with them. These forces are entitled to see me at least twice a month so I can encourage them and they can reinforce my ability to continue fighting. As you know, they are my children and my family. This situation dictates that I travel 18 times per month, and that does not include trips made for official and diplomatic reasons. I do not travel to forget problems; I travel to solve my peoples' difficulties and problems.

[Question] You've had a famous saying in verse that used to hang in past years in your office in al-Fakahani. I will remind you of that saying:

"The fortitude of patience I will outdo,  
"Until God's grace shields me I will endure;  
"I will endure until  
"I can endure no more."

Was this saying applicable to a specific period and is it no longer applicable today, or is it still suitable?

[Answer] That is true. That saying was hanging in my office in Beirut, which was destroyed in the Israeli raid on al-Fakahani in 1981. I still have patience, but these days I have another saying which is inspired by our people's tremendous ability to survive, to confront and to fight despite all the difficult

circumstances they and our nation are experiencing. But I can remember only the first part of that line of verse which says, "I see a phoenix that is invincible."

You know the phoenix: that bird which always rises from the ashes to start new life. The Palestinian situation today is manifested in this line of verse. It is a living expression of our people's and our masses' will.

[Question] You are now in Egypt, and this is not your first visit here. Your previous visits to the country raised several questions, and every visit adds questions to a growing list of questions. Can you define the significance of your relationship with Egypt? Is it an ally or a mediator? Given the circumstances that you are well aware of, can Egypt play a role that would be favorable to the Palestinian question? What is the strategy of your relationship with Egypt?

[Answer] I would like to call attention to several significant points.

First, I cherish the relationship I have with the people and leaders of Egypt. It is a relationship that I have wanted and still want to have, not just from a Palestinian point of view, but also from an Arab point of view. As you know, one of the constant principles of my view of Arab conditions has to do with the Egyptian position, which, I think, is essential in peace and war. No one can write off one third of the Arab nation's manpower, civilization and culture. I cannot ignore a 7,000 year-old civilization, nor can I ignore Egypt's educational, cultural, scientific and military capabilities and then talk about war and peace in this region. That is why Egypt's position is one of the invariable principles in our policy, and that is why I am always saying that Egypt must reclaim its normal position of leadership in the Arab world.

[Question] What are the invariable principles in your policy?

[Answer] In our political view the invariable principles that are required to get us out of this Arab crisis and to overcome this bad time for Arabs are:

First, as I mentioned before, Egypt should return to its position of leadership.

Second, the war between Iraq and Iran should be stopped.

Third, there should be solidarity in the Arab position in North Africa. That solidarity would correct the breakdown that took place in the east.

Fourth, the sectarian monster in Lebanon must be stopped because if we allow it to go on, our Arab nation will face a grave danger, and that monster will devour Lebanon and put an end to it. It will then spread like a cancer all over the homeland. We in the PLO support the political, territorial and demographic unity of Lebanon, and we have to fight to turn back this sectarian monster and overpower it.

Fifth, military action inside the occupied land should be stepped up. This is an important point in Arab-Israeli confrontations because military action has a political effect. It is in fact one of the principal factors affecting the Israeli enemy.



Sixth, a popular, Arab force should be created and allowed to act as a watchdog, a higher authority and a supporter of our position facing the cultural challenges we are facing.

[Question] You spoke of six points which are the foundations of an Arab strategy that is required to get us out of the predicament we are going through. Let me go back once again and ask you a question about Egypt. Am I correct in understanding you to say that Egypt is your ally at this stage?

[Answer] Egypt is more than an ally. Egypt is one inseparable part of this basic Arab world, and we are another.

[Question] A statement recorded in the resolutions of the National Council which was convened in Algeria states that, "The farther away Egypt moves from Camp David, the closer we would move toward it." Do you believe that Egypt has moved far enough from Camp David to justify the Palestinian rapprochement with Egypt?

[Answer] I would like to correct your information. In the National Council that was convened in Algeria we referred to Egypt's role and the importance of that role, not only for us as Palestinians, but also for the Arab nation. The council did say, "The farther away Egypt moves from the Camp David policy, the closer we can move toward Egypt." We specifically spelled out the word, policy. This significant and accurate expression was not made lightly. The statement was formulated on the basis of the total picture of our relationship with Egypt: the people of Egypt and the civilization, history and leaders of that country.

[Question] Do you think Egypt is moving away from the Camp David policy?

[Answer] When the Egyptian people refuse to buy Israeli goods even though they need them, they are walking away from the Camp David policy. When they stop the normalization of Israeli-Egyptian relations, they are walking away from the Camp David policy. When President Husni Mubarak assumes that brave posture he did assume when we left Tripoli, that means Egypt is walking away from the Camp David policy.

[Question] What do you mean by the position that President Mubarak assumed? Can you define that for us?

[Answer] It is known that we were surrounded by land and by sea. Israel was surrounding us at sea, and, unfortunately, some fellow Arabs were surrounding us on land. President Mubarak called upon his military forces. Against whom was the Egyptian army called upon to fight? The Israeli forces, of course, who were at sea and in the air. Let me add that when President Mubarak proclaimed in Strasbourg, "We are with the PLO," that significant and distinguished position was against the Camp David policy. I do not wish to list more positions than that. There have been many. Do I have to remind you of Archbishop Shenoudah's position who is refusing even today to send Christian pilgrims to Jerusalem? Archbishop Shenoudah said, "I will not go to Jerusalem unless I go with Abu 'Ammar." And what do we say about Egyptian workers who need employment but who refuse to seek employment in the occupied land? When President Mubarak complies



with our request and stops dealing with the Palestinian aspect of the Camp David accords, that constitutes a strategic position in the Arab confrontation. I am not talking about Egypt from an emotional standpoint, but rather from a rational one. I am clarifying facts that I hope every Arab knows. I hope every Arab understands the implications of what we are talking about.

[Question] Should I take what you say to mean that the PLO will play an active part in any Arab summit to bring about Egypt's return to the Arab League?

[Answer] Our position in that regard is clear and unequivocal. It is a position I proclaimed at the emergency summit meeting that was held last year in Casablanca. We played an outstanding role in bringing about Egypt's return to the Islamic Conference. When I addressed the Casablanca conference, I mentioned Egypt's return in clear and unequivocal terms. I also mentioned Egypt's return in my address to the Palestine National Council [PNC] and in my letter to Palestinian fighters on 1/1/1986.

[Question] Is it possible for Egypt to permit a Palestinian presence in the sense of permitting a political and a cultural presence for the organization, rather than just offices?

[Answer] Let me also ask, doesn't my presence in Egypt constitute the political aspect of that presence?

Here I am in Egypt, and I am the president of the PLO and the commander-in-chief of the Palestinian Revolutionary forces. I serve in these two capacities, and until someone else is elected to replace me, I remain the chairman of the PLO.

[Question] This is what we meant by the question: Will Egypt permit the presence of cultural, informational and political institutions in the country? Will it permit, for example, a research center, a news agency, media organizations, etc.?

[Answer] We did not ask for that.

[Question] Don't you intend to ask?

[Answer] We might, but that depends on circumstances.

[Question] One notices that Egypt has been trying for some time to bring your points of view closer to those of Amman. Is Egypt playing the role of neutral mediator, or is it taking your side or Jordan's side?

[Answer] I do not consider Egypt's role to be that of a mediator, nor do I consider any Arab role in that regard a mediator's role. Egypt's role is to see to it that our efforts and the efforts of our Egyptian and Jordanian brothers are utilized to oppose the fragmentation [in our midst] and resist American arrogance. The United States is always giving Israel its unlimited support, and sometimes that support comes close to being a partnership.

[Question] In your last visit to Cairo, before King Husayn's address last February, relations between Jordanians and Palestinians were tense. Dr Usamah

al-Baz, President Mubarak's adviser, went to Amman in an attempt to mediate the situation, but he did not succeed. This is your first time in Egypt after King Husayn's address, after the PLO's response and also after the king's visit to Egypt. Have you sensed any change in the Jordanian position because of the Egyptian mediation effort?

[Answer] My visit today is not related to King Husayn's address; it is not related to my talks with Jordan, nor is it related to Palestinian-Jordanian relations. My visit to Cairo has to do with the nature of Palestinian-Egyptian relations, and one of the aspects of that relationship is that effort which President Mubarak is making, along with the Jordanian-Palestinian effort and other Arab efforts as well, to achieve a comprehensive and a just settlement in the Arab organization. We are seeking a solution that would include among its priorities the established rights of the Palestinian people.

[Question] It's been noticed that the PLO took its time to respond to King Husayn's address and that its reply was not emotional. The reply was quite objective and was based on principle. Is this a new method by means of which events would be dealt with with deliberation and without emotion? Is that new method due to the fact that the organization has received enough blows and has learned significant lessons from its experiences?

[Answer] Our judgment of the circumstances that our Arab nation is going through today makes us think hundreds of times before we do anything. There is enough division in the Arab world, and we do not wish to add to it. This is what we said publicly in our reply. We told King Husayn, if we cannot break through the American position together, each one of us should make the effort quietly on his own. Each one of us should continue his efforts in his own way, and that should not be the cause of a break in relations between Palestinians and Jordanians.

[Question] Was King Husayn convinced?

[Answer] Fellow Palestinians who are members of the Executive and Central Committees are still communicating with Jordanian officials. This means that Jordanians are responding in some way to that position.

[Question] Don't you feel now after everything that happened and after the intra-Arab disputes that a new Arab summit meeting is necessary? This nation's issues could be set forth at that summit meeting. Don't you feel that such a summit meeting should also reaffirm a formula for the relationship between the PLO and Arab countries? What I mean is this: shouldn't there be a reaffirmation of the al-Rabat resolution considering the PLO the sole, legitimate representative of the Palestinian people?

[Answer] On the contrary. Events have shown that the 1974 al-Rabat Summit Resolution did pass the test. These events proved that the Arab nation and Arab countries, even those with whom we've had disagreements, have adhered completely to that resolution.

[Question] There has been more than one news report in the press about communications between the PLO and Syria. What have been the results so far of this dialogue?

[Answer] There have been a few meetings between Syrians and Palestinians, and we hope the outcome of these meetings will be good.

[Question] And what about Libya?

[Answer] We have no problems with Libya. By the way, on behalf of the PLO I am condemning this insolent and treacherous American attack against Libya. With all our resources we stand by Libya's side without any reservations. There is no uncertainty about this matter.

[Question] If efforts to end the conflict with Syria succeed, if there are no conflicts with Libya and if you reach positive results in your dialogue with Palestinian organizations, can we expect the next PNC meeting to be a national unity council in which unity and solidarity would be restored to Palestinians?

[Answer] I disagree with you about one word. Our people were never as united as they are today, nor did they rally around our organization as they are rallying around it today. They proved this in the political positions which political organizations, unions, associations and Palestinian figures have assumed. Palestinians and their institutions have affirmed their positions alongside the PLO, which they consider their sole, legitimate representative and the leader of their struggle. The clearest and most unequivocal expression of that position was made on the day of Zafir al-Masri's funeral, a man who was a hero. The funeral was a referendum on that solidarity and on that Palestinian unity which friends recognized even before enemies did. Let me then remind you of the latest test on Palestinian unity to which we were subjected. This was a test of the steadfastness of our people inside Lebanon, in Sidon and in south Lebanon. People shed blood in that test defending our existence and the independent Palestinian national decision. But if your question is referring to the agreement of those factions outside the Palestinian framework--those factions which deviated from the PLO and from their commitment to the resolutions and the political program that was agreed to by representatives of the Palestinian people--I would like to remind you that this is not the first time this happens. When we were in Lebanon, there was a PLO and there was a rejection front outside the PLO. Now, instead of a rejection front there is a ... front--Mr 'Arafat did not name that front. There are also other fronts hiding under different names. I hope they can escape the Arab pressures that are applied to them so they can return to the Palestinian rank. That is why we left them four vacant seats at the last meeting of the PNC Executive Committee which was held in Amman. At the recent meeting which was held in Baghdad, we welcomed the idea of starting an unrestricted and an unconditional dialogue with them, and we met with some of them in Algeria, in Prague and in Moscow. We are still talking with them.

[Question] But it seems that no results have been reached in that dialogue, isn't that right? And yet, we continue to hear their statements which indicate that you have not yet reached even a minimum understanding.

[Answer] Unfortunately, these statements do not reflect the truth, but those people are compelled to make those statements because such statements help them deal with the pressures which are placed on them by those parties that I mentioned. I think that the conditions of the camps in Lebanon and in Syria are well-known. In Lebanon Palestinian camps fought and are still fighting under the

PLO's banner. In Syria, people in al-Yarmuk camp proclaim the PLO's banner despite everything.

[Question] Do you believe that the Jordanian-Palestinian agreement is still viable? Jordanians consider it dead. Consequently, what is the nature of your relationship with Jordan and what are the controls that govern and define it?

[Answer] Jordanians do not consider the agreement dead or buried. King Husayn did not mention that in his address; nor did he touch upon it in any other address he delivered in front of the conference for Arab parliamentarians. We are still adhering to the Jordanian-Palestinian agreement as the foundation for our relations.

[Question] The United States is asking you to recognize Security Council Resolutions 242 and 338 in order to enter into negotiations. But most western political commentators believe that U. S. support for these resolutions is no more than lip service. In the meantime U. S. political plans support the notion of Israel maintaining control over large parts of the occupied land. In that regard U.S. policy coincides with that of Israel's Labor Party which supports the notion of Israel keeping the Golan Heights, the Gaza Strip and 40 percent of the West Bank. In other words, it supports the old Yigal Allon plan, after Sinai was returned to Egypt.

[Answer] What is even more dangerous than that is that President Reagan is driving the American people into direct involvement in the Arab-Israeli conflict. He is thus repeating Lyndon Johnson's mistake in Vietnam. He is deluded by the arrogance of power, but history knows that we will not be fighting those battles alone.

[Question] The PNC has stated more than once that it recognizes the legitimacy of UN resolutions. This means that resolutions 242 and 338 have been recognized along with all other UN resolutions. Why then is the United States insisting on a process that divides and breaks up international law? Is it doing that to hinder any efforts?

[Answer] I do not understand how the United States can divide and break up international law. Reagan must understand that the law cannot be divided into parts. Israel carried out one of these resolutions. The Americans want us to recognize two UN resolutions, and they are ignoring the other resolutions. They want us to stop the armed struggle against Israel while the international conference is being held. There are distortions in this entire process, and the first of these distortions was manifested in a statement made after King Husayn's address by one of their official spokesmen--and there are many of them in this period. The spokesman said that the PLO was not being invited to attend the conference. In fact, Israel may veto an invitation to the PLO to attend. This means that we would be making concessions to the Israeli government without getting anything in return. Tomorrow we would be asked to make concessions to the Israeli government without getting anything in return. This is scandalous. The second scandal is what was said by that spokesman. He said, "The PLO will not be invited to the conference." I don't understand how the Americans can have the audacity to say they will not invite the PLO to the conference? They are not the ones who issue invitations to international conferences. It is the UN



carried out a heroic operation, and the Israelis admitted they lost six people. I am saying this because I want to tell you why I issued decisions to shell north Palestine with Katyusha rockets as of the beginning of this year. I want Israeli public opinion and the whole world to know that what the Israelis called the Galilee Peace Operation, which began 3 and a half years ago, failed completely to prevent us from shelling bases and settlements in north Palestine. Thus, I am saying that after 3 and a half years I am not waiting for a strategic balance operation. If I were to wait for that, I would be deluding myself. I know quite well that the Israeli enemy is not alone and that the United States stands behind Israel. In light of that fact it is impossible to achieve a balance. Consequently, I must devise ways and means to fight. Today, we are stepping up military operations in the occupied land. In 1985 there were 863 operations. It is true that disunity in the Arab position weakens prospects for any peace process in the region, and it is true that the balance of powers is a very important factor, but the fact that a balance has not been achieved should not keep me from going on and devising methods. It should not keep me from carrying an olive branch in one hand and a gun in the other. If at one point I find an opportunity to achieve a just and comprehensive solution in the region, I will seize that opportunity. But if such an opportunity does not become available, no one will betray the cause or offer concessions.

[Question] Given the existing balances and the fact that armed struggle operations on the West Bank, in the Gaza Strip and in south Lebanon are being stepped up, does this mean that you decided to turn the equation around? Would that equation, which has been in existence ever since the armed struggle began, be turned around so as to place the basic weight of the revolution inside the occupied land, while the revolution abroad would play the role of supporter and helper?

[Answer] The equation that was prevalent was not that which you mentioned. However, circumstances had the upperhand over this formula. Nevertheless, three fourths of the Israeli army and air force acted in accordance with a plan devised by Alexander Haig under orders from Reagan to strike the PLO abroad and to break up its infrastructure. But despite the force of the strike, the PLO was able to rise again and to fight.

[Question] What is the story behind your crisis with the Soviet Union? Will the snows of Moscow be warmer this year?

[Answer] Who said there was a crisis between us and the Soviet Union? I was invited to the opening session of the 27th Congress of the Soviet Communist Party, but Abu al-Lutf went as my representative. He headed a Palestinian delegation that included all the groups that were invited to attend the congress.

[Question] Are you going to visit Moscow any time soon?

[Answer] My schedule does not include a visit to Moscow, but our relationship with our Soviet friends is a good one.

[Question] Are contacts being made to arrange a meeting with Gorbachev?

[Answer] This is something I cannot confirm now, but the meetings between us and Soviet officials are going on.



secretary general who issues such invitations with the consent of all parties, particularly the permanent members of the UN Security Council. There is another point: the United States is talking to us about the right for self-determination, which is a sacred right approved by divine laws and by UN principles. This is one of the principles upon which the United States itself was built. While the United States approves the right of the residents of the Falkland Islands, who are no more than 1,800, to determine their destiny, it is denying that right to 5 million Palestinians. But it is my right to say and ask, "Who told the United States that Yasir 'Arafat was willing to betray his people?"

[Question] What was your reaction to the idea of stopping the fighting while the conference was in session?

[Answer] I was in al-'Aqabah. A few fellow Palestinians carried out operations inside the country when U.S. Secretary of State Schulz was visiting the city. He sent me an official letter with Zayd al-Rifa'i in which he told me, "You want a peaceful solution to your question, but how can you be calling for a peaceful solution when military operations are being carried out?" I told Mr Zayd al-Rifa'i that I would send Mr Schulz an official reply. In that reply I told Mr Schulz: "We do indeed want a political solution, but I would like to remind you that when you were negotiating with the Vietnamese, these negotiations were held while guns were being fired. The Vietnamese people continued to fight until you left their country despite the fact that you were engaged with them in peace talks. Also, negotiations between the Algerians and the French continued between the first and the second conferences at Evian, and the Algerians continued fighting. That is a legitimate right. Resisting occupation is one of the most important principles of the United Nations. We will continue fighting that enemy who is occupying our land until we can fly the Palestinian flag in Jerusalem.

[Question] You are a military man and a first class strategist. Moreover, your experience and your struggle during the many, long years of the past make matters much clearer for you than they are to us. Do you think that given the major discrepancy in the balances of power between us and Israel there can be a peaceful solution that would guarantee and ensure the rights of the Palestinian people? It is known that the balance of power will be reflected at the negotiating table. Stalin is known to have made a statement about the Pope that became well-known. Stalin asked, "How many tanks does the Pope have?" That statement applies to anyone who wants to ask for something when he does not have anything real to back his demands and force those with whom he is negotiating to concede.

[Answer] The Mahatma Ghandi did not have tanks backing him up; the people backed him up. I disagree with your point of view regarding the balance of powers. I am not one of those who is dazzled, deceived or feels frustrated as far as Israel's power is concerned. I can say with the pride of a military leader who fought that Israeli enemy for 20 years--in fact, I have been fighting that enemy since 1948--that I do not see in that enemy that power which you talk about. We and our Lebanese allies withstood in Beirut for 88 days, and after that there was the war of attrition, which is called the Lebanese Resistance. The Israeli enemy knows that this resistance which the Israelis call the national Resistance in south Lebanon is a Palestinian-Lebanese Resistance. Three days ago four of our best young people lost their lives in south Lebanon. They

[Question] Why hasn't Abu al-Lutf visited Cairo since the restoration of Palestinian-Egyptian relations? Does this have something to do with Egypt's position, or are there other reasons for that?

[Answer] It is known that Abu Mazin is the one responsible for Palestinian-Arab relations. Abu al-Lutf is responsible for foreign relations. I would ask you to refer to the statements that Abu al-Lutf made about Egypt. Not all the members of the Executive Committee came to Egypt, nor did all the members of the Central Committee come either.

[Question] A few days ago the right-wing won the elections in France, and Chirac was elected prime minister. Do you believe that this change in the French government will have an effect on France's position on the Palestinian question?

[Answer] I do not interfere in the domestic affairs of other nations.

[Question] But do you think that Chirac will be like his predecessors?

[Answer] Ever since De Gaulle, De Gaullists have always had a distinguished position on the Palestinian question. De Gaulle and I were friends. De Gaullists were the first to establish relations with us, and we hope that these relations will develop today. Or rather, we hope that relations will improve. Our relations with France are good now, and I am proud to say that France's position is an advanced one among the countries of the European Common Market. France recognizes the right of the Palestinian people to determine their own destiny. It also recognizes that the PLO is the principal representative of the Palestinians, and it recognizes the Palestinians' right to have an independent homeland.

[Question] Today, Kuwait is subject to a grave danger. Unlike other countries of the Gulf, Kuwait holds a special place in the affections of Palestinians. Where do you stand on this matter?

[Answer] I was the first Arab official to speak about the dangerous situation in the Gulf. I warned about this battle 6 months ago, and officials in the Gulf know that I have been warning against it continuously. The position I will declare now is not only mine, but also that which Palestinian leaders have agreed to. We support our brothers in Kuwait, in the Gulf and in Iraq against any attack or aggression on any inch of Arab land. All our resources will be placed at the disposal of our brothers in the Gulf.

[Question] By the way, what about your last meeting with King Fahd? Did you discuss at that meeting the matter of convening a summit conference?

[Answer] The Saudi attitude is fraternal, and relations with Saudi Arabia are special. The Kingdom of Saudi Arabia has never stopped its financial and moral support for the Palestinian position. My last meeting with His Highness King Fahd was a successful and a positive meeting. It was a long meeting during which we discussed all issues. We discussed Palestinian, Arab and international conditions. On that basis I say that the effort that is being made now by King Fahd in more than one area to support the organization's course is very important. This is what I can say about my recent meeting with King Fahd.

[Question] You have just come from Sudan. When you left, Sudan was about to hold new elections. What can you tell us about your visit to Sudan?

[Answer] There is no doubt that Sudan is going through a significant and a unique popular awakening. The Sudanese are now on the verge of holding their elections. At the same time reference must be made to the hardships that this Arab country is facing. Let me tell the Arab nation that we have a basic duty to confront the incidents in the south. Today, Sudan is being subjected to a Balkanization conspiracy, which we must all do something to stop.

[Question] The last question has to do with your health. We have learned that you were having some health problems recently in Tunisia. Is the crisis over, and are you well now?

[Answer] Western news agencies, the Israeli media and American intelligence have said that I had every disease in the book. I just had an acute inflammation of the windpipe that forced me to stay in bed for a long time. But as you can see, I am now well and in good health. There is no truth to what has been rumored about me.

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## PALESTINIAN AFFAIRS

### INTERVIEW WITH SALAH KHALAF ON GULF DEFENSE, OTHER TOPICS

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[Interview with Salah Khalaf by Salih Zaytun; in al-Dawah; date not specified:  
"Palestinians Are Being Called upon to Defend the Gulf"]

[Text] "We oppose the Iranian invasion and the expansion of the war. The road to Jerusalem does not go through al-Basrah."

"We do not want a rift with Jordan; Let King Husayn himself declare that the Amman Agreement has been revoked."

"King Husayn's address provided us with national testimony that we could use to check those braggarts who accused us of surrendering."

"There is a new round of talks between Palestinian factions; its purpose is to convene a national unity council."

"Syria dropped its condition of bringing about 'Arafat's downfall, and we are seeking relations with Syria that are based on principles."

"There is no middle of the road solution with Jordan because that would mean making further concessions in our invariable Palestinian principles."

"The current alternative is that of stepping up the armed struggle to strengthen political activity; a settlement is an illusion."

"We were able to return most of our scattered fighters to a point that is closest to occupied Palestine."

"It was the Moussade and not the Popular Front that killed Zafir al-Masri."

"What a good stand, by God."



That was how the prince of al-Bahrain expressed his approval to Abu Iyad [also known as] Salah Khalaf, one of the historical leaders of the contemporary Palestinian Revolution. Mr Khalaf was touring the Gulf area to explain the different developments in the Palestinian situation, particularly following the suspension of coordination efforts with Jordan and the escalation of the war between Iraq and Iran.

Abu Iyad explained to al-Shaykh 'Isa ibn Salman Al Khalifah the Palestinian position which supports the countries of the Gulf Cooperation Council against Iranian threats to expand the war. He affirmed in his presence that Palestinians are being called upon to defend the Gulf because about 1 million Palestinians had shared the good times with citizens of the Gulf. It was time for them to stand by fellow Arabs in the Gulf in the bad times.

AL-TADAMUN took advantage of Abu Iyad's presence in one of his stopovers in the Gulf and spoke with him at length about different developments, placing emphasis on the hot issues. In this interview with AL-TADAMUN some of Abu Iyad's answers were passionate, but we will let the reader find that out for himself in the following interview.

[Question] Let us begin this interview at the point where events left off. This may be the focus of your current tour in the Gulf. Could you explain to us the Palestinian position on what happened regarding the Amman agreement between Jordan and the PLO? Is this agreement still valid?

[Answer] I must make it clear that the principle of touring the Gulf states was approved at meetings of Fatah's Central Committee and at the recent meeting in Tunisia of the PLO's Executive Committee. The Gulf tour was approved so that the Palestinian position can be clarified in the aftermath of the Jordanian monarch's address and the PLO's statement in response to that address by King Husayn. It was agreed at those meetings that Palestinian leaders were to go out in various directions on Arab missions that would include all Arab countries. They could thus give Arab leaders a true account of how events were developing. Salim al-Za'nun [alias] Abu al-Adib and I took the Arabian Gulf area.

That was the first point. The second point is that an agreement was reached to emphasize three principal points during these Arab tours. These points are:

1. Emphasis was to be placed on the sudden and dangerous escalation of the war between Iraq and Iran and on the dangers of the expansion of that war and the involvement of other Arab countries in it.
2. Emphasis was to be placed on the fact that coordination between Jordanians and Palestinians had been suspended after King Husayn's address and on the future of relations with Jordan.
3. Emphasis was to be placed on future prospects for Arabs and Palestinians.

[Question] It has been noticed that you have been putting emphasis during your tour on the war between Iran and Iraq. This war has taken priority in your attentions over the relationship with Jordan, which is one of the hottest issues for the PLO. In fact it is the topic of the hour, is it not?



[Answer] We think that the danger of the war between Iraq and Iran is greater than what some people think it is. That is why we mentioned it in the beginning of the PLO's recent statement, and that is why we put emphasis on it as one of the priorities for Palestinian action. This is because we think that expanding the war will increase the dangers of the Zionist presence in our midst and will distract us from the sacred duty of liberating Palestine. It will tie us down for many years--more than it did in the past--to the task of correcting the effects of a war that will affect everyone. We believe that the time has come to stop this war and direct all efforts to the common struggle against the Zionist enemy. But it seems that Iran is overdoing its threats to Iraq, to Kuwait and to the other states of the Gulf. This contradicts the principles of the Iranian Revolution itself whose birth we protected because we believed it will be an anti-imperialistic revolution that will dedicate itself to the task of traveling the road to Jerusalem. Instead, we were surprised by an obvious departure from those principles. It is that which gave rise to our disagreement with our fellow Iranians because we do not think that the road to Jerusalem goes through Baghdad or Kuwait. We rather think that the road to Jerusalem is another well-known road.

[Question] By the way, it has been noticed that your positions on that war are not what they were when that war began 6 years ago. Is there an explanation for that?

[Answer] We have been against the war ever since it began. We have called for an end to the war, and that has angered both parties in the war. Now, however, we think it is our duty to support Iraq because its territory is now being threatened with occupation or rather partition. We could then have a new tragedy on our hands similar to the Palestinians' tragedy which began with a partitioning plan. This is a new threat to the region. Iran is trying to partition Iraq into two sections: one in the north and another in the south. It can then establish in south Iraq a state that supports it and is loyal to it. Iran wants to do this by occupying al-Basrah and Umm Qasr, thereby threatening Iraq's unity and the very existence of the Gulf states. Doesn't such a threat call for a change in our positions and a reaffirmation of our affiliation with this nation? In fact, I do not think we exaggerate when we say that as a Palestinian people living in the Gulf, we are making ourselves available, or rather we are being called upon to be at the forefront of those defending the region against any outside invasion. This is the least we can do to pay back the debt we owe this land where generations of Palestinians have lived, sharing with its people the good times. Standing by them now in the bad times is also part of paying back that debt.

[Question] Can it be said now that you favor Iraq?

[Answer] We are against invasion and aggression, and we cannot remain neutral on that. The rest of the Arabs must also take action and must not go on as though the matter were of no concern to them.

[Question] Let us go back to the topic of the hour which is the dispute with Jordan. Can it be said that the rift with Amman is final? Is the Amman Agreement dead as a door nail, as Syria's Vice President 'Abd-al-Halim Khaddam has described it?

[Answer] We do not want a rift with Jordan. Evidence for this can be found in the calm and objective statement that was issued by the PLO 20 days after King Husayn's address. At the same time we cannot accept something that threatens our existence, cancels our gains and overlooks our struggles. This is what we were asked to do before the king's address, and that is why we refused to agree to Security Council Resolutions 242 and 338. We will not kneel, haggle or give in. This is because we place our legitimate national rights above any other consideration, and we think they are more important than any pressure that is placed upon us.

In return, we affirm that we are and will continue to be concerned about relations between Jordanians and Palestinians. During this crisis we and Jordan may have been able to remain objective and civil about the matter because we did not allow the dispute to disintegrate into an exchange of insults. This is a sign that there is a new method that Arab factions can use in dealing with each other. It makes it possible for what was suspended to be resumed in the future.

Regarding your question about the rift: this is something we do not want. We are prepared to enter into talks with Jordan on the basis of the well-known invariable Palestinian principles, but we do not want to make any more concessions or submit to pressure. But for all practical purposes the Amman Agreement came to an end with King Husayn's address. Also, statements by the PLO's Executive Committee and by Fatah's Central Committee made no reference to the agreement as the foundation of relations with Jordan. Instead, those statements affirmed PNC resolutions which call for the establishment of special relations between Jordanians and Palestinians on equitable foundations. These relations could assume the form of a confederation after an independent Palestine, whose capital would be Jerusalem, is established.

Regarding the agreement being "as dead as a door nail," we are waiting for King Husayn to make that announcement unequivocally. But let me say that we do not think this agreement is the only way for cooperating with Jordan. It can be replaced by effective Arab solidarity. The best existing alternative we have now is the Fes plan.

[Question] The baffling question that observers have on their minds has to do with the secret behind the timing of King Husayn's announcement that he would suspend coordination with the PLO. Do you have an explanation for that?

[Answer] We think that the timing was inappropriate because it coincided with the U.S.-Israeli campaign against the PLO and against the Palestinian people. I believe there are several explanations for the timing, and these may be summarized in the following ideas:

First, King Husayn could have thought that Syria would go along with him in another settlement that would not include the PLO.

Second, President Hafiz al-Asad could have told the Jordanian monarch the same thing he told the late President Jamal 'Abd-al-Nasir after the June 1967 setback. That is, he may have told him to liberate the West Bank and the Gaza Strip at any cost.

Third, Jordan may have been tempted to deal with the outcome of Israel's autonomy plan without appearing to be taking a part in imposing it. It would just deal with its consequences.

Fourth, and this is the last idea. The timing of the king's announcement may have had something to do with pressure on the PLO, considering its need for a place to assemble near the Palestinian people.

At any rate we find Jordan's fanaticism over our rejection of Resolution 242 curious and unusual. I believe that helped us a lot; it gave us evidence with which we were able to confront those who accused us of giving away the cause. A leader of one of the factions based in Damascus even said, "We've made matters difficult for King Husayn with the leaders of the PLO."

[Question] Speaking of factions that are based in Damascus, do you believe that these developments will help create unity on the Palestinian scene?

[Answer] It is no secret that I met with representatives of two important PLO factions some time ago in Prague. I believe that another meeting will be held somewhere in a matter of days. That meeting will make matters clearer after both factions have pledged to make efforts to persuade the others that Palestinian solidarity is required for this stage.

[Question] Do you believe that existing conflicts between all these factions can be overcome so soon? Do you make a distinction between that and your relationship with Syria?

[Answer] First of all, I do not make a distinction between that and our relationship with Syria, but I leave the matter of Syria to the direct channels that exist between us and the Syrians. I leave that matter to Arab, Soviet and socialist mediation efforts which are trying to improve relations between us on the bases of the struggle. We are waiting for a positive Syrian initiative toward us. But we are willing to talk with the Syrians; we are willing to meet with them and to come to an understanding with them. But as far as the other factions are concerned, there are no real political differences between us. Instead, there are geographical circumstances which dictated that some factions be located in certain regions, and these circumstances forced those factions to watch their political positions. It is these conditions that slow down the process of reaching an understanding; it is these conditions that portray matters as though they were conflicts. At any rate, I believe that the excellent meeting at Prague laid a good foundation for national unity. I believe that a healthy and correct relationship with Syria will contribute spontaneously to good relations between the Palestinians themselves.

[Question] Do you think there will be an opportunity after that to convene a national unity council and abolish the 17th session which was held in Amman?

[Answer] The fact of the matter is that the 17th session was nothing more than a reaffirmation of the resolutions of the 16th session, which was held in Algeria. In fact, the wording of the resolutions that were issued by the 17th session may have been more severe, particularly with regard to Reagan's initiative. But the most important condition for convening the unity council to



which you referred is that it be preceded by an intra-Palestinian dialogue. We still have a National Unity Committee which was charged by the Central Council that met in Baghdad recently with the task of trying to streamline the Palestinian position. I believe that committee has made good progress in helping some Arab countries.

[Question] Let us go back to relations with Syria. If Syria were to ask you for an apology similar to King Husayn's apology, would you apologize?

[Answer] We do not want a relationship with Syria at any cost, and we do not want it at that price. We do not believe that anyone would have the audacity to make such a request. We are not like other people. We want a relationship that is based on principles and that does not collapse with the least disturbance. We want a relationship that is based on the independence of the Palestinian national decision and on the course of a common struggle against the Zionist enemy. This may be what is impeding mediation efforts between us and the Syrians even though we left no stone unturned in our efforts to seek assistance for mediating this situation. But our fellow Syrians believe we were unfair to the Syrian army in the 1982 war. They need a statement to improve the reputation of that army in front of Arab public opinion. We are saying in advance that this brave army fought with us in Lebanon, and the Syrians do not need to set any conditions, nor do we need to make any statements regarding this army.

[Questions] Among the conditions that the Syrians have set, have they called for the ouster of Yasir 'Arafat?

[Answer] That condition is absolutely objectionable and is not open to discussion. We consider it intervention in our people's affairs and infringement on their right to choose their leaders and representatives. At any rate, we've noticed for about a year that the Syrians are no longer harping on that tune. The Syrians made smaller demands during the face-to-face meetings between some Palestinian officials and some Syrian officials. We are now considering those demands that may be acceptable, and we will reject what is unacceptable.

[Question] Signs of an Egyptian mediation effort between you and Jordan have been noticed. The purpose of this mediation effort is to restore what was interrupted. What will the next round of talks with Jordan lead to? Will Resolution 242 be discussed?

[Answer] Egypt's mediation efforts are very dear to us, but I believe it will be difficult to make us give up our invariable principles which make it incumbent upon us to reject Resolution 242. I believe there is no reason to talk about lost opportunities and available ones. All this would lead us into making more concessions. In this situation, having a serious setback such as that which King Husayn talked about in Cairo would be preferable to us than making concessions and surrendering.

We cannot accept Resolution 242 unless a new resolution is issued to correct Resolution 242 and to affirm the Palestinian people's right to determine their own destiny. This would eventually lead to the establishment of an independent Palestinian state. If that becomes impossible, then the last choice that everyone has is to convene an international conference that has the authority to take

action. That conference should be convened in accordance with UN resolutions, including Resolution 242 and other resolutions which mention the right of self-determination. By the way, what was proposed to us via Jordan was a ceremonial international conference that would become an umbrella for mediation efforts for the face-to-face negotiations that would be held after that conference is adjourned. That ceremonial conference will have no authority, and its resolutions will not be binding on the parties to the conflict, as we want them to be.

But I believe that the time and circumstances are not yet right for convening such a conference and imposing peace on our enemy. The Arab nation is in such disarray and conflict: six regional wars are being fought in the Arab nation, and these wars are distracting it from the principal issue.

[Question] What is your alternative now during this period of inertia?

[Answer] We should escalate the armed struggle, and we should do so, of course, without abandoning political activity. We think the military option is the only way to strengthen the effectiveness of political activity. It is force alone that forces our enemy to yield. On our part, we are telling the Arabs there can be no just and comprehensive peace as long as we continue to have the horrifying state of weakness we are presently in. If we want a fair settlement, we must have the power that can support what is right. The only way we can have this power is to stop those small intra-Arab and marginal wars and bring Egypt back into the Arab ranks. Until we do that, talking about a settlement and peace is nothing more than an exercise in wishful thinking.

[Question] Speaking of escalating the armed struggle, it's been reported that you said your forces, which were scattered in the Arab countries, have all been returned to Beirut. How accurate is that statement?

[Answer] I can say that we were able to return most of our fighters who had been scattered among the Arab countries. We have been able to assemble them in points from which they can step up the armed struggle. Please do not ask me to identify that location. As far as Lebanon is concerned, we should not forget that the young lads we left there in Beirut after the siege are now grown men carrying out their duty in the struggle.

[Question] Will the armed struggle be stepped up in the occupied land itself?

[Answer] Of course. One of the most important decisions we made recently in Tunisia when we met to prepare the statement to respond to King Husayn was the decision to step up the armed struggle inside the country by all means. I believe our people can carry out that mission of struggle. They can always come up with an answer that will forever silence those who are casting doubts about the legitimacy of the PLO's representation of our people. It was our people who declared in Zafir al-Masri's funeral that they would reject attempts to establish an alternative to the PLO. They were the ones who gave the PLO their vote of confidence during that funeral. At any rate, 1985 was the year during which the escalation of operations inside the country was obvious. Our people inside the country were able to devise their own methods of resisting the occupation.

[Question] Speaking of Zafir al-Masri, do you actually believe that he was killed by the Popular Front?



[Answer] The front's statement regarding Zafir al-Masri is another crime no less heinous than his murder. I was distressed to see delegations from al-Masri's family visiting me in the Emirates and condemning the front's statement of responsibility for his assassination. The front knows that he was an honest fighter who worked to serve the interests of his people. But our information indicates that it was Israeli intelligence, the Moussade, that was behind this crime. It is the Moussade that is benefiting from its consequences.

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## PALESTINIAN AFFAIRS

### NAYIF HAWATIMAH DISCUSSES PLO DIFFERENCES

Beirut AL-NAHAR AL-'ARABI WA AL-DUWALI in Arabic 14-20 Apr 86 pp 28-30

[Interview with Nayif Hawatimah by Shawqi al-Riyashi: "What Is Happening in the South Is a 'Rehearsal' for New Invasion"; in Damascus, date not specified]

[Text] The secretary general of the Democratic Front, Mr Nayif Hawatimah believes the recent Israeli operations in the South are a "rehearsal" for a new invasion. He said that there is a possibility of a Syrian-Israeli war at the beginning of the summer.

Hawatimah emphasized that the "bourgeois wing" of the Fatah Movement has splintered the Palestinian national coalition, thus placing the cause on the path of an American-Israeli solution.

He accused the Fatah Movement of non-adherence to the Algiers summit resolutions and 'Arafat of plunging headlong into the Amman agreement which has been abrogated.

[Question] Palestinian resistance factions are being torn apart by severe political currents confined between the call for continuing the struggle against Israel within the compass of a broad national front and between the theory that calls for the preservation of Palestinian exclusivity in this struggle within the broad pan-Arab and national alliance. The Democratic Front remains one of the chief advocates of this theory. What are the special principles governing this stance?

[Answer] To understand the Palestinian internal map, one must have a good knowledge of the stage through which our national cause is passing. Without such knowledge the internal map remains a group of ambiguous operations. Our cause is passing through a national liberation stage and it shall remain there until the Palestinian people are able to return to their country, to determine their own destiny on their own, soil and to secure their independence in a national state that expresses their right to exist and their right to have an international, Arab, and regional political life. This clearly indicates that the Palestinian people are virtually the only Arab people going through this stage while all Arab countries and peoples have attained their right to self-

determination and national independence. Our current struggle revolves within the framework of a totally different stage that deals with strategic choices in all of these regions.

Essentially we find here that the internal map of each of these countries is different from the others because each country has its own personal program while the program of the Palestinian revolution is what gives the cause and the revolution a singularity that distinguishes it from other Arab situations. This peculiarity is necessarily defined as the unity of all the Palestinian people of all classes and ideologies within the occupied territories and the camp areas.

Without such a unity our people's capabilities will be subject to splintering, fragmentation, and polarization among regional axes, thus leading to the dissipation of the Palestinian cause's peculiarity and consequent failure.

In this context, the Palestinian people are no different from any other peoples of the world throughout the national liberation stage. For all of these peoples have found themselves by necessity within the compass of a broad national unity that represents a coalition among all classes and currents on the basis of a common denominator program--the program of self-determination and independence. Thus did the people who attained national liberation triumph, while those who did not learn the lesson ended up squandering their people's capabilities and falling into neighboring regional axes. Consequently, their cause of liberation and independence remained suspended until further notice. There is more than one example in the Middle East, such as the Kurdish problem, the Armenian problem, and other problems.

In this context as well, it becomes evident why the PLO constitutes the broad framework of the national front that represents all the people with all their social and ideological currents for the sake of concentrating all their capabilities on the groundwork of the joint national program which has expressed itself since June 1974 in repatriation, self-determination, and an independent state for the Palestinian people as a reflection of their right to exist and to have a political national organization just like any other people on earth.

The PLO, in this broad and comprehensive coalition, is the temporary homeland of the Palestinian people until they are able to attain their independent homeland on Palestinian soil. In light of this coalition formed by the PLO at this stage of national liberation, one can understand why Palestinian multi-lateralism is represented by national forces and figures and resistance factions, just as one can understand, in the stage of South Vietnam liberation, the reason for the multi-lateralism represented by over 27 political parties and organizations within the framework of the liberation of the South. Multi-lateralism is an accurate reflection of the social and ideological currents within our people's ranks that agree, at the stage of national liberation, on the program of repatriation, self-determination, and independent representation that has imposed itself on Arab regional life through the Rabat, Baghdad, and Fes resolutions which represent the national common denominator with regard to the national rights of the Palestinian people and the issues of the Arab-Israeli conflict. This national program, by

virtue of the struggle of our people aided by national and Arab liberation forces, has imposed its international scope for the first time in the contemporary history of the Palestinian cause, thus turning it into an internationally-backed issue that cannot be settled or manipulated by the rules of the disastrous 1948 and 1967 games which brought about resolution 242 or the year 1973 which produced resolution 338.

[Question] But how do you explain the persistent disintegration of the PLO framework from the time it left Lebanon until this day, thus dissipating the efficacy of the Palestinian cause at all Arab and international levels and emaciating the revolution's role and prestige in accomplishing its liberationist tasks?

[Answer] In the framework of this functional, national, revolutionary, Palestinian particularity, one can understand why our people have rejected all calls for segregation and division that lead to the disintegration of the broad national coalition. To be more precise, some people in Fatah are following the path of abandoning the PLO program in search of common grounds with the Reagan plan. This is exactly what the February 1985 Amman agreement represented.

With the same intensity, the overwhelming majority of our people has rejected segregation under the motto of the left and right, before and after the 1982 invasion of Lebanon, which was led in the seventies by the Rejectionist Front and was joined, following the 1982 invasion, by the national alliance and its supporters under leftist slogans that produced division, civil war, and the deterioration of Arab-Palestinian relations. The policy of segregation is two faces of the same coin which has led to the disarrangement of the internal Palestinian map, the disintegration of unity, and the drive of regional Arab axes to control anew the fate of the Palestinian people.

Persistent deterioration of the Palestinian cause's status at all Arab and international levels and persistent emaciation of the revolution's role and prestige as well as the emaciation of the PLO's role at Arab and international levels have encouraged Washington to insist on its eight conditions so as to bring the PLO to its knees in accordance with the Camp David plans and the Reagan initiative. It was not satisfied with the Amman agreement whereby Fatah leadership thought that by going half the course it would have a chance to meet the American solution half way. Therefore, it rushed to hold the "Amman council" and then the "Amman agreement" which represented the midpoint to the American solution in accordance with the Amman, Cairo, Rabat, and Western European promises. But King Husayn, a full year after the February agreement, revealed that the PLO was required to go the full course or, in other words, to give in to all the American conditions which Murphy presented to Husayn to deliver to 'Arafat.

Hence, the parties to the Amman agreement found themselves in a predicament. King Husayn sensed that his ambitions of returning to the united kingdom plan were vanishing and 'Arafat discovered that promises to draw Washington midway to "have contact" with the Amman agreement were nothing but a trial balloon, and, therefore, he was unable to swallow American conditions.



A full year later, the overwhelming majority of the Palestinian people and the Arab and world liberation forces were mobilized on the side of the Soviet position and other national forces, not only against the American solution but also against the policy of going midway to meet it, as represented by the Amman agreement. This in turn was dropped into the hands of Mubarak and Western Europe. It became apparent once again that the Washington-Tel Aviv line could not be followed, but rather should be stopped by foiling its surrenderist terms of erasing independent representation of the Palestinian people and seizing every one of their independent national rights: "No" to repatriation, but rather, incorporation, representation, and absorption in Arab countries as the State Department spokesman stated on March 15, and "no" to the right of self-determination and independence and "yes" only to the two UN resolutions as the sole political basis for settling the Middle East crisis and the Palestinian question. More precisely, no existence for an independent Palestinian cause. All these developments underscored the basic rules of the Palestinian causes's particularity in the national liberation stage.

[Question] Based on all these givens, can it be said that the fate of the PLO is ruled by the policy of one faction which is Fatah and that this policy will inevitably lead to further fragmentation of the resistance factions and, perhaps, to the elimination of Palestinian rights? Do you not think that the disintegration of the political entity of the PLO is influenced by other matters no less intense than the struggles in the internal political courses?

[Answer] Departing from these practical facts which have become palpable to everyone, the Democratic Front charted its policy before the invasion of Lebanon on the basis of insisting on the unity of the PLO and on the groundwork of the joint national program, and after the invasion, on the particularity of the Palestinian cause which has been once again subjected to regional dissolution attempts as a way of dissipating the national and political character and the right to self-determination and independence, thus opening the way for the settlement of the Middle East crisis on the basis of the two UN resolutions alone. The prerequisite for such an action is the cancellation of independent Palestinian representation that represents the entire Palestinian people. Therefore, we rejected all calls for division under any banner, strongly insisting in all our Palestinian, national, and international policies on the necessity to restore PLO unity through a national coalition as the only way to maintain and safeguard our people's rights and accomplish the tasks of national liberation, unity of destiny, repatriation, and independence. By restoring unity, the PLO can maintain its status as the sole legitimate representative of our people. The difficult knot facing the American solution to issues related to the Arab-Israeli conflict is the PLO's survival as a broad national coalition of the people with all their currents. And to prevent the PLO from maintaining its positions as the sole legitimate representative, efforts are underway to cross out the PLO as a step toward crossing out the Palestinian cause from the Middle East crisis agenda. Fatah's control of the PLO yielded the Amman agreement, with all the torment that it has created, and foremost, the destruction of the broad national coalition that has totally hampered the role of a large number of national Palestinian forces in the mainstream of the struggle and eliminated all the basic elements the Fatah leadership could employ to control the entire PLO.



It has become evident now that the overwhelming majority of our people and the resistance's cadres, in addition to the great majority of the Arab liberation movement and all forces struggling against American Middle East policy led by the Soviet Union, that our policy, which is struggling for the sake of regaining liberation, is the only way to salvation and, therefore, we must all rally around it. For the unifying democratic national line is our only salvation on the basis of the common national denominator.

Notwithstanding that complications have intensified in the last 3 years with regard to the internal Palestinian map due to Arab regional axial polarization processes, the untying of "Alexander's knot" is very easy for it requires that everyone return to the PLO program and the Algiers resolutions, as well as Fatah's return to the same thing. This is in addition to the Aden-Algiers agreement which was signed in order to ensure extensive democratic reform of PLO organizations and to build a collective leadership so as to end all individual and factional leadership problems. The restoration of the broad national coalition within the compass of the PLO on the basis of national consensus and democratic reform is the central task that appraises national and pan-Arab solidity and unity among the people, the resistance, and the PLO and throws aside the Amman agreement, the American solution, and all deviations from the resolutions of the national denominator and the common pan-Arab denominator.

The warring regional axes in the Middle East, since the 1982 invasion of Lebanon, have been trying to lead the Palestinian areas to a state of imbalance and inefficacy with a view to rendering it unable to solve the internal crisis of the resistance and the PLO. They are waiting for relief that may or may not come through differences between the regional axes. A glaring example of this is the Lebanese arena where the internal Lebanese forces are facing serious problems that have rendered them too weak to assume their role in solving the internal Lebanese crisis and to close the internal Lebanese file so as to effect a better mobilization of the country's capabilities to achieve unconditional Israeli evacuation of southern Lebanon and to transform Lebanon into a unified, free, and sovereign country tied to its pan-Arab environment and capable of achieving its democratic development.

[Question] Some say that one solution to the internal crisis is to drop Yasir 'Arafat from the PLO leadership. Even though such a plan has not yet crystallized, where do you stand on such a proposal?

[Answer] The problem in this area is not one of personalities. It is basically the problem of the political line adopted by the determining forces of Fatah's executive committee following the invasion of Lebanon in its Palestinian, Arab, and international circles. This is what was brewing during our state of seige in heroic Beirut and what came to the surface of the Palestinian arena, right after the departure from Beirut and Southern Lebanon, on the eve of the PNC session in Algiers. Now, the Palestinian-Palestinian conflict within the framework of the PLO did not allow this political line to plow ahead and thus the Algiers session's resolutions constituted a triumph for the unionist national line which is opposed to reactionary American solutions in the Middle East. Nonetheless, Fatah's executive committee line

did not abide by the Algiers resolutions and 'Arafat and his supporters tried to forge the Amman agreement I in April 1983 which was foiled through unified PLO action at the time. Developments 1 month after the abrogation of the first agreement strongly shook the PLO and contributed to its split. Subsequent events led to the disintegration of the unity of the Palestinian arena. All this was exploited to allow 'Arafat to plunge ahead in his political line which produced the Amman council and the Amman agreement II on 2 February 1985 and the consequent practices throughout 1985. Therefore, we in the Democratic Front always reiterate that the Amman agreement is a complete program dealing with the Palestinian arena by insisting on consolidating division and planting mines in the way of restoring PLO unity and deepening Arab relations between the present leadership and the Amman-Cairo axis in particular.

As for international relations, this may lead to an opening up to American surrenderist solutions and to endeavors to search for junction points with them. All this is totally incompatible with the PLO program signed by resistance leaders and with the resolutions of the national consensus which was reaffirmed in the Algiers session. It is also incompatible with the Aden-Algiers agreement signed by the Fatah leadership as well as by the democratic alliance factions in 1984.

I have mentioned all this to make it abundantly clear that the problem is greater than that of personalities. It is a problem of a political line that will conflict with the PLO program and unanimous resolutions. Therefore, the battle to restore PLO unity requires, by necessity, that the political line that revolted against the Algiers resolutions be defeated. It requires, as well, the triumph of the national consensus program in confronting the struggle to attain the right to self-determination, repatriation, and an independent state and the soleness of our people's representation independent of King Husayn.

Such a triumph, when attained, will certainly put all those who have deviated from the national consensus program under the sword of strict accountability within the scope of the unified establishments, the revolution's legitimacy, and the PLO. For these establishments are the only ones able to render such a sword effective and without them matters will remain within the scope of verbal protests and justifications. In this unified sphere, the higher national and pan-Arab interests, not the individual interests, will transpire and each faction must respond to the higher national interest when certain persons have to be sacrificed. Continuation on the road of attaining our people's independent rights is more important than any one person.

[Question] Therefore, the political situation on the Lebanese and Arab level is going through a tragic state represented in a clear dualism between political word and political deed. This means that official policies have fallen into a state of deterioration and pretension. What do you say in light of this?

[Answer] From where does the problem spring? The Rabat, Baghdad, and Fes resolutions defined with tangible accuracy the pan-Arab common denominator. Many are the resolutions that have defined the national common denominators in

the forward front arenas: the Palestinian, Syrian and Lebanese in particular. nonetheless, we do not have a cohesive cornerstone for these resolutions on which Arab solidarity can be built and Arab capabilities can be drawn toward the forward front.

Once again we ask from where does the problem spring, and our answer in light of all the bitter lessons that have emerged in recent years is that the starting point of the flow in the entire national and pan-Arab process is the lack of serious and practical compliance with the laws of alliances between the struggling forces on the basis of democratic equality and free voluntary choice in formulating national and pan-Arab relations. We find before us a policy of substitutes instead of alliances. A certain capital or force presents itself as a substitute for everyone else instead of observing the laws of alliances on the basis of the common denominator that puts the contradiction with the main enemy--American imperialism, Zionism, Israeli expansionism and reaction--above all other kinds of secondary contradictions among allies. Here we sense, again and again, in the Middle East experience, the preponderance of the secondary conflicts over the primary contradiction, based on the theory of substitutes which puts special local and regional parochial interests over all national and pan-Arab interests shared by the various allied forces. This is the source of the existing malaise which replaces alliances with affiliations and the common denominator program with a special one with a view to upsetting the balance of power and imposing the special program. This in turn generates a special mechanism that paralyzes and destroys the alliances, replacing them with substitutes based on divisive blocs and axes. This has transformed national forces in the forward front arenas into a group of detached, not to mention colliding, isles. This point witnessed the waning of the process of upholding the laws of alliances which never lose sight of unity among allies and always puts the primary contradiction with the enemy above domestic conflicts. This gives the enemy front, made up of Americans, Zionists, and fascist forces every offensive opportunity to impose surrenderist solutions, from the attempt to barter withdrawal from the Lebanese border strip for security arrangements that guarantee disarmament of the South to the greater national and pan-Arab issue, to the Middle East crisis, and to Palestinian rights. Were it not for this flaw in relations among the alliances, Arab reaction would not have been able to fish in troubled waters, to push for the disintegration of the unity of national forces at the forward front level, and to try to drag the PLO to the American solution.

[Question] In light of the current state of political erosion and disintegration, do you see a horizon for a possible Israeli-Syrian war or will Israel let its political enemy erode?

[Answer] Information and facts indicate that Israel and the United States have not yet conceded Lebanon's right to unconditional withdrawal from the border strip. The recent limited enemy invasion of a large number of southern villages outside the border strip, on the pretext of looking for Israeli prisoners, was in fact a "rehearsal" for invasion plans proposed on the agenda. The rehearsal is to probe the extent and depth of local resistance the enemy will encounter and the regional, Arab, and international reactions to a possible invasion. All this is part of an ongoing hostile

confrontation with Lebanon for the purpose of overburdening it and impeding any solution to the Lebanese domestic crisis not based on Israeli-American terms under the heading of security measures, as was the case with "disarmed Sinai," whereby the enemy's borders are rendered peaceful and southern Lebanon subject to occupation at any time Israel or Washington wishes to trigger the Lebanese domestic situation while creating daily problems for Syria to keep it in constant confusion and turmoil. Moreover, many facts indicate that Syria itself is a political and military target of any kind of invasion in southern Lebanon outside the border strip to test and provoke Syrian reaction and perhaps to attempt a "blitzkrieg" whereby the enemy hopes to deal some kind of a blow to the Syrian military force.

In this context, we must understand the statements of the enemy's minister of defense a few days ago to the effect that war with Syria is possible in the spring and next summer, as he put it.

These indications and facts that have surfaced are part of what is being planned. This is what has encouraged the Lebanese fascist forces that have and are still impeding any efforts to settle the Lebanese domestic crisis, for once again they are riding high on the Israeli-American horse. We always used to emphasize that the threat to Syrian and Lebanese national endeavors to solve the Lebanese domestic problems emanates from Israeli expansionism and its role in keeping the Lebanese domestic situation in disarray, thus impeding any kind of democratic settlement. Moreover, we have and still do emphasize that common struggle unity between Syria, the Lebanese unified national forces, and the Palestinian camps is the only way to force Israeli unconditional withdrawal from southern Lebanon and to foil the security measures scheme.

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## PALESTINIAN AFFAIRS

### CIRCUMSTANCES BEHIND FATAH SPLIT EXAMINED

London AL-DUSTUR in Arabic 21 Apr 86 pp 23-24

[Article by Yusuf al-Rimawi: "The True Story of Abu al-Za'im and His Movement; 'Adil Imam Rebuked Him in Beirut; Amman Is Considering His Expulsion; and the PLO Relieved Him of His Duties"]

[Text] What is the status of relations between Jordan and the PLO 2 months after King Husayn's address, that address in which the king announced that political coordination between the two sides would be stopped? Have the differences between both sides remained unchanged? Are there Arabs attempting to mediate between the two parties, or are they attempting to exacerbate the differences?

In Amman, the capital of Jordan, these questions have more than one answer, all of which concur that the effects of King Husayn's address have now actually faded. Answers to these questions also indicate that the next stage in Jordan's relations with the PLO will be determined in the light of Arab mediation efforts conducted by Egypt, Morocco and Saudi Arabia. It is most likely that there will be a tangible relaxation in these relations in the near future.

However, confirmed information obtained by AL-DUSTUR indicates otherwise. This information affirms that an attempt is being made to turn matters around inside the PLO itself.

Ever since a Palestinian official, who resides in Cairo, arrived in Amman about 3 weeks ago, this information has been whispered in limited circles in the Jordanian capital. That Palestinian official's real name is 'Atallah 'Atallah, but he is known as Abu al-Za'im. Abu al-Za'im arrived in Amman on a mission that was at first surrounded with considerable mystery.

Information available to AL-DUSTUR indicates that as soon as he arrived in Amman Abu al-Za'im drew attention to himself by touring Palestinian camps and housing communities. It turned out later that this was an attempt to take advantage of the current rift between Jordan and PLO leaders to achieve personal goals and ambitions even at the expense of causing further fragmentation and division within Palestinian ranks.

The true story, as it's being told now in Amman, is that recently aroused doubts about Palestinian leaders and the extent to which they represent the Palestinian



people tempted Abu al-Za'im to look for his long awaited opportunity to step outside his limited and controversial role within the Palestinian Revolution onto a bigger leadership role that he had been trying to attain with no success for the past 15 years.

Available information about Abu al-Za'im allows us to believe that he had the personality and emotional makeup which enabled him to carry out such an opportunistic action when an opportunity to do so presented itself.

As we stated his real name is 'Atallah 'Atallah. In the late sixties he served as an officer in the Jordanian army. But he was court-martialed, and in 1970 he joined Fatah. After Fatah moved to Lebanon, he served as a liaison officer between Fatah and Lebanese authorities.

Those who were in Beirut with Abu al-Za'im when the Palestinians were in Lebanon concur that the most outstanding feature of his personality is a tyrannical, egotistical tendency that drives him to make use of all the resources that are made available to him. In his daily conduct, which is not above suspicion, he utilizes these resources to serve his own personal interests and to achieve his own personal gain. To achieve that he applies pressure on people, and he coerces those whose opinions differ from his. He has also been known for his immoral conduct for which he has been widely known both in Beirut and in Cairo where he moved after the Palestinians left Beirut in 1982.

This man's history in Beirut shows what kind of man he is; it shows his personality and the extent of his greed and ambition. While working within the ranks of the Palestinian Revolution one of the assignments he managed to get was that of director of Fatah's military intelligence branch. In that capacity he was able to establish contacts with several Arab security agencies, and he devoted himself entirely to their service. He was thus able to assemble a number of opportunists around him, and these people benefited from his connections. He too was also able to amass a sizable fortune for himself. It is even said that he is a partner in some projects with the well-known Arab millionaire 'Adnan Khashoggi.

Abu al-'Za'im collaborated with the chief of an Arab intelligence agency in Lebanon to turn over one of the most prominent Arab opposition figures in Lebanon to the authorities in his country. This was done for a 3 million dollar reward that he shared equally with his aforementioned partner.

Because of the fortune he accumulated by such means and deals, he went to Italy where he tried to invest his money in the motion picture industry. That adventure, however, ended in a series of well publicized moral scandals whose smallest details were covered by the Italian press in Rome, Milan and Venice.

His life in Cairo, when he went there in 1982, was a life of luxury. He purchased a luxurious home for 6 million pounds, and he tried to cover up his activities by publishing a magazine called AL-QUDS. That magazine, however, was stillborn, and it did not achieve any success to speak of.

Among the additional information that sheds further light on Abu al-Za'im's personality is a story that is both amusing and yet distressing. The main

character in that story, which happened in Beirut, is the well-known Egyptian movie star, 'Adil Imam, who had come to Beirut with a group of movie stars and artists during the siege of that city to show their solidarity with Palestinian fighters. When Abu al-Za'im found out that 'Adil Imam was in the Lebanese capital, he ordered some of his thugs and goons to bring the Egyptian movie star to him. 'Adil Imam agreed to go because he believed that contacting Palestinian fighters was his national duty. But Abu al-Za'im greeted 'Adil Imam with sarcasm and asked him to perform a comic scene or to tell a few jokes. But 'Adil Imam declared angrily that he was an Arab artist and not a clown. He said that he had not come to Beirut for such a ridiculous purpose. When Mr Yasir 'Arafat heard about this distressing story, he received 'Adil Imam and a group of Egyptian artists and apologized to all of them for Abu al-Za'im's conduct.

Given this background, one can understand Abu al-Za'im's current role. Informed sources affirm that Abu al-Za'im is trying to establish a new Palestinian front and declare himself its leader. He is trying to do what Abu Musa and his group did in Damascus in 1983. That is, he wants to launch an organized coup and seize the PLO's offices in Amman.

Although Jordanian authorities did allow Abu al-Za'im to enter Amman and said nothing about his activities in Palestinian communities and camps, they are not satisfied with those activities, especially since Abu al-Za'im was rejected categorically everywhere he went. He has not yet been able to realize any measure of success in his mission or in his coup.

AL-DUSTUR'S sources affirm that concerned authorities in Jordan are now convinced that Abu al-Za'im will have to leave Jordanian territory in the next few days.

What is more significant, however, is the PLO's attitude toward Abu al-Za'im's movement. The organization has tried to ignore this movement for as long as possible, but Abu al-Za'im raised the stakes when he called for an urgent meeting of the General Congress of Fatah to look into the resolutions that were made by Fatah's leaders. Abu al-Za'im called for that meeting in a statement he made to a foreign news agency. The resolutions he wanted examined included the resolution to withdraw from Beirut in 1982, the 11 February agreement in Amman and the recent political coordination position between Jordan and the organization.

Informed sources state that Fatah attempted to persuade Abu al-Za'im to retract his position. Abu al-Za'im's brother, Abu Hajim, who commands Palestinian forces that are subordinate to the Palestine Liberation Army and stationed in Baghdad, was sent from that city to appeal to his brother. Abu Hajim invited his brother to come to Baghdad and meet there with Mr Yasir 'Arafat. But Abu al-Za'im turned down that offer. Palestinian leaders were then forced to take a decisive step. They relieved Abu al-Za'im officially of all the duties that had been assigned to him, and they also relieved six of his assistants.

It remains to be said that Abu al-Za'im's movement is not the first such movement in the PLO's history, and it may not be the last. But according to a statement given to AL-DUSTUR by one Palestinian leader, "It is certain that the

appearance of such a movement at a time when the climate was being prepared for the restoration of Palestinian unity reveals the nature and the true substance of this movement." It affirms that this movement's aim is essentially one that runs counter to that of the ongoing arduous efforts which are being made to unite the organization. It affirms that this movement cannot be a reform movement, as Abu al-Za'im alleges it is.

Palestinian leading figures add, "Recent events proved that Palestinians inside the country and abroad rallying around their leaders provide the one and only true guarantee for the preservation of the organization's independence and role. It is also the only guarantee for the course of struggle the PLO is pursuing to achieve its legitimate objectives."

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BRIEFS

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## ECONOMY MINISTER DESCRIBES NEW INVESTMENT POLICIES

Abu Dhabi AL-ITTIHAD in Arabic 14 Apr 86 p 17

[Interview with Economy Minister Dr Muhammad al-'Imadi by 'Assaf 'Abbud: "Every Arab Investor Has the Right To Own and Invest in Syria, Same as Every Syrian Citizen"]

[Text] In the recent period, numerous decrees have been issued by the Syrian government concerning the economic policy Syria is pursuing. Observers have considered them to be of extreme importance, since they give much activity to the private sector. AL-ITTIHAD had the following meeting with Dr Muhammad al-'Imadi, the minister of economy in the Syrian Arab Republic, concerning these decrees, import and export facilities, trade relations with neighboring countries and the oil price war.

[Question] In the recent stage it has been observed that a number of economic laws and edicts have been issued regarding facilities and dealings in the context of exports and imports. Could you talk to us about the causes which led to the issuance of these laws?

[Answer] Perhaps the most important measures which have been adopted may include those which concern facilitating import and export activities, those which are related to the entry and exit of foreign and local currencies, and those which are connected to the opening of new scope for investment in various fields. Let us start with the most important subject, which is that of investment. A committee was formed in the investment area which was requested to define areas which will be left to the private and mixed sector in the various branches of the economy, in particular in the agricultural and industrial area. This is one of the most important demands the private sector has been making. The private sector demanded that this area be specified in order to ascertain how to act within its horizons. This committee, of which I was a member, made various studies, and these studies came up with a definition of private and mixed sector areas in the fields of agriculture and industry, in addition to other avenues, such as tourist activity, which have been open for a long time, in order to reassure people that these areas have become legal and official. The competent ministers, that is, the minister of industry and the minister of agriculture, issued decrees defining these areas, after these areas were approved by the higher councils



headed by the prime minister. We can consider that the first step has been taken, as far as people's confidence goes. However, in addition to that, a legislative edict has also been issued which has allowed the establishment of mixed companies to which the public sector will contribute 25 percent and the private sector 75 percent. These companies will carry out various activities related to the development of the farming and livestock areas of the agricultural sector. In order to carry out necessary, essential industrial projects, these companies have been given various benefits in the import and export area, in the area of the provision of primary materials and in the area of exemption of their imports from various duties. In addition to that, these companies have been exempted from taxes on profits and various kinds of taxes for a period of 7 whole years, starting from the first money-making budget in these companies. I imagine that this legislation is progressive, Arab and nationalist. It is clear that it serves the productive structure and invites Syrian and Arab participants to take part in establishing such companies, so that the expansion of the productive base in our country can take place through them. These activities are supplementary to what was started in the past, which is the inclusion of the Syrian Arab Republic in all agreements related to investment guarantees, the Arab organization for the guarantee of investment, and activities related to arbitration concerning Arab investments.

This all constitutes an integrated group whose goal in reality is for us to open new horizons for agricultural and industrial investment in our country. However, in addition to that, a decree has been issued, number 186, by the higher tourist council, which has also stipulated the concessions given to various types of hotels and tourist installations. Among the basic things cited in this decree has been the grant of a 50 percent reduction in income taxes with respect to people who reach the maximum for the class in which the specific tourist installation lies; that is, its profits will be divided into two parts, one part subjected to taxes, which is 50 percent, and the other, remaining sector which is not subject to taxes.

In the course of the days to come, a conference will be held in Kuwait where various projects which can be marketed in the Arab context and for which Arab money can be mobilized will be discussed.

The Syrian Arab Republic will seize this opportunity to present a paper in which it will show the various advantages given to Arab investors in addition to a list of the projects which might be met with satisfaction by Arab investors in the areas of agriculture and industry. I will not pass over this subject in a transitory manner. I might mention Decree 348 for 1969 which allowed Syrian expatriates to establish projects benefiting from various advantages. Included among these facilities are re-exportation of the capital they bring in after a specific period and recovery of the profits obtained on the projects they invest in. These constitute important things for investors, who are receiving the essential necessary attention.

#### Facilities Allotted to Arabs

[Question] What are the facilities allocated to non-Syrian Arabs in investments, and how are they treated in accordance with these new laws?

[Answer] Arab investors now can choose from the list which has been set out for the private and joint sector; whether the private sector is Syrian or Arab, they can choose the project they want from this list. They can send anyone they want to make an economic and technical study on the project. In the event they want to participate in it, they can submit a request to the Ministry of Industry or the Ministry of Agriculture, and this request will be discussed quickly. It is this which will give them the necessary permit to establish their agricultural or industrial facility. There in the State Planning Authority there is a special office called the investment office, and Arab investors can go to this office and deal with it directly.

#### The Purchase of Land

[Question] Can an Arab investor buy land in Syria and establish the project he wants on it as an agricultural or industrial company without participating in existing companies?

[Answer] The Arab investor has the right to buy land directly in a given governorate, within the stipulated limits of ownership and for a specific type of crop. Within these limits, the Arab citizen has the right to buy and sell and establish the project he wants. There are dozens of Arab Gulf brothers who are establishing a number of residential and agricultural projects within the al-Zabdani area. If one wants to benefit from the advantages of Law 10, one can establish a mixed company with the public sector, which will have a share of 25 percent, and he can participate as a Syrian expatriate and benefit from Law 348 and its advantages. There are a number of options.

#### Imports and Exports

[Question] This is as far as investing goes; could you talk to us about imports and exports?

[Answer] These facilities and laws are not to be considered great relative to those that exist in the Gulf countries, but they are relative to the Syrian Arab Republic and the period which preceded the issuance of these laws. The essence of these decrees is to facilitate the process of importing the equipment, machinery and primary materials needed for agricultural and industrial activities. In the past, these operations were carried out by the Syrian Commercial Bank; credit would be opened for them and the opening of credit in the bank would be subject to delay. Now, the importer can present the foreign exchange directly to the bank or obtain credit facilities for a period of 180 or 360 days and import this machinery. A decree has been issued by the minister of economy stipulating permission for Syrians and foreigners to bring in any amount of foreign currency to Syria, and they will not be asked about its source. The other thing is that foreigners and Syrians can bring in any amount of Syrian pounds. This was forbidden in the past and the amount was very limited. A regulation exists as far as taking out foreign currency and Syrian pounds is concerned. A Syrian can take out \$1,000 if he is traveling abroad, except to Jordan and Lebanon; if he is traveling to Jordan or Lebanon he can take out 2,000 Syrian pounds. With respect to foreigners, they cannot take out Syrian pounds, and they can take out foreign currency only to the extent they brought it in with them, on condition that they receive permission to do so on coming in.

A person can open the credit he wants without an inquiry being made of the importer concerning the source of this money. We know that the private sector has enormous money in Lebanese currency, totalling about 14 billion, and this is a way to attract this money. Also, as far as hard currency goes, we have given exporters the tourist rate for the dollar, which is 10 pounds. The difference in Syrian pounds between the tourist market and neighboring countries is now small relative to what it was before, and this encourages exports.

#### Agreements with Jordan and Turkey

[Question] In recent months you made two visits, to Jordan and Turkey. Could you talk to us about the results and their role in economic relations?

[Answer] Jordan, as far as Syria goes, is more than a brother. We feel the utmost affection and appreciation for it, and exert every effort to develop and improve relations with it. The purpose in the meetings which took place was to restimulate relations between the two countries and avenues toward new areas of economic activity and to apply all the economic agreements signed by the two countries. Banking facilities between the two countries were discussed and agreement was reached between the ministers of industry to establish specialized exhibits between the two countries. The Syrian exhibit will be held in Amman toward the end of this month, and a Jordanian exhibit will be held in Syria in a later period. There are new fields, which are joint activity between Jordanian and Syrian contractors and the realization of further economic cooperation, and agreement has been reached to import what Syria requires from Jordan and for Jordan also to import the materials it requires which Syria manufactures.

As for economic relations with Turkey, these have been in existence for a period. Turkey has developed greatly and numerous industries have emerged there. We have prepared projects to barter Syrian goods for Turkish goods. There are economic benefits arising from proximity and cheap prices. The most important commodities which can be imported from Turkey are agricultural equipment, fertilizer and herbicides, in addition to some foodstuffs such as oil and vegetable shortening. Syria will offer phosphate and textiles in exchange for that.

[Question] You will soon make a visit to Kuwait and Saudi Arabia. What is the purpose of that?

[Answer] The reason for the visit to Kuwait is a meeting of the heads of Arab funds. It is an annual meeting and joint organization projects and projects for their future activity will be discussed, and their final budgets will be approved. I am happy to visit Kuwait, a country in which I lived for 6 years.

The visit to Saudi Arabia will take place on 18 April and is occurring in accordance with an invitation from my colleague Dr Sulayman Salim, Saudi minister of trade. It is to learn about various aspects of the progress by which the features of civilization in Saudi Arabia are characterized, to review economic and commercial relations between the two countries and to develop and stimulate these relations.

## The Oil Price War

[Question] How do you assess the situation of the price war in the area of oil and the price drop on the international market?

[Answer] It is unfortunate that this has occurred. There were many people who had expected this drop in the area of prices. Certainly there is an embargo on the part of the consuming countries and an assault on these countries' part on the Arab countries, and the loss which has befallen the Arab countries as a result of this drop is great, not just as far as the decline in revenues goes but also a loss in various resources. It would have been possible for the activity and development of these oil countries' relations with the Arab countries to expand if oil prices had remained as they were. The loss in trade, revenues and various areas of activity existing in these countries [word missing], it will be necessary to investigate means for bringing oil back to its role as a force in Arab hands.

This drop, specifically, will lead, after a period which is not distant, to an increase in the consuming countries' reliance on oil; as a result of all the projects which have become marginal after the drop in oil prices, reliance of the consuming countries on them will decline, because the element of profit will be negated after the decline in oil prices. This will lead to habituation to reliance on oil, measures to reduce consumption will not continue, consumption will return to its previous level and after that we will witness an increase in prices. That will all require solidarity in the context of OPEC and the unification of production.

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## SYRIAN CHARGE D'AFFAIRES OFFERS REASSURANCES ON ECONOMY

Tunis HAQA'IQ in Arabic 25 Apr 86 pp 26-28

[Interview with Syrian Charge D'Affaires 'Umar al-Sayyid by Behidj Bechir: "The Corrective Movement Has Restored the Atmosphere of Total Trust between the Leadership and the Masses"]

[Excerpts] Question: The March revolution the Arab Socialist Ba'th Party mounted in 1963 is to be considered a revolution in the economic, social, developmental and cultural contexts, especially following the corrective movement President Hafiz al-Asad held. Could you talk to us about this revolution?

Answer: Political independence remains in urgent need of economic independence. Therefore, Arab Syria found its way to political independence, and economic independence as well, after the 8 March 1963 revolution took place, thus turning 17 April into a national day, as the people who struggled to reach it and end colonialist control of Syria's destiny, national assets and national hopes wished it. Syria faced many challenges along the road to consolidation of its independence, including the Israeli aggressions supported by international imperialism under the leadership of the United States of America. The 5 June 1967 aggression was one of the schemes that had been drawn up in order that imperialist Zionism would halt the tendencies which had dominated the Arab nation after Syria had demonstrated its power to move national and nationalist slogans to tangible reality and the March revolution shifted ownership of the means of production to the masses of the people, turned the land into property of the peasants and industrial and productive projects into property of the people working in them and was faithful to the watchword which it propounded, "Arab oil for the Arabs," nationalizing the oil industry, and extraction industries in general.

It relied on domestic personnel to be the self-sacrificing force and the effective weapon for confronting the international monopolies. Proceeding from this watchword, Syria took the first steps along the road toward an integrated oil industry, from geological survey operations to the petrochemical industry, proceeding through the activities of drilling, production and transmission via the lines connecting the producing fields to the oil refineries and export terminals. The steps along the road toward the



construction of a strong domestic economy gained speed and Syria made its way in spite of all the obstructive conspiracies to smash the giant revolutionary example within the third world which sanctified the national nature of production and the people's ownership of the means of production. The takeoff in actual conditions became clear when Syria became a phosphate and phosphate product exporting country; the capacity came to 1 million tons of exported phosphate. Thanks to domestic skills and expertise, our people achieved what they had aspired to through the construction of heavy industries such as the tractor, tire, transformation and high-quality chemical industries. As a result of that, the proportion of people working in industrial areas increased several times over what it had been at the beginning of independence. Thus the Syrian economy was no longer one-sided, relying on agriculture alone, and industry and its subsidiaries came to constitute a major, important aspect in terms of national income and contribution to the country's general budget. Our people realized the development to whose evolution they aspired, with the result that our country became a developed nation. Per capita annual income rose more than 20 times above what it had been at the beginning of independence. That was accompanied by a perceptible development in the health and educational areas paralleling that which exists in the developed countries in the world in terms of care people receive. In Syria this now is at a level of one doctor for every 2,000 citizens, and the number of government hospitals has risen to 182, distributed among the population centers and outfitted with modern medical equipment, in addition to the private sector hospitals and medical clinics which are present in all the villages of the nation of Syria. It has become clear that the number of beds in hospitals has risen to an average of one per 180 citizens whereas at the beginning of independence they hardly existed. This rate parallels that which the most developed countries possess. From the time which followed Syrian independence to now, the rate of educated people has risen to the point where books are in almost every house and every family. Thus the rate of illiterates, who at the beginning of independence accounted for 80 percent of Syrian society, has now become within reasonable limits and is restricted to old people alone. The edifices of university education have risen to accommodate all people who aspire to learning, not just those who belong to our country but also people from other Arab countries, and this has made Syria a central place as far as the national hopes of the Arab nation's people are concerned. Perhaps the most important achievements of the corrective movement President Hafiz al-Asad carried out are that it restored the atmosphere of total trust between the leadership and the masses, strengthened solidarity between them and established the people's political institutions, such as the People's Assembly, local administration and the Progressive National Front.

Perhaps the corrective movement's most important achievement is that it managed to realize a sort of military balance with Israel which enabled it to launch the October war of liberation in 1973. We still intend to realize a further strategic balance with the Israeli enemy in order to stand up to all its aggressive schemes and the imposition of capitulation on the Arab nation.

Question: President al-Asad has declared that Golan will be in the midst of Syria, and not on its borders. This is a statement which Israeli circles

have been angered by. Could you provide us with aspects of the Syrian strategy for the liberation of Golan?

Answer: Yes, President al-Asad has stated that. Golan is part of Syrian soil, and in spite of that Israel has annexed it. It does not lie on the borders of the territory of Arab Palestine, and this makes its annexation of Golan a violation of international laws. We, for our part, state that Israel has usurped the land of Arab Palestine, which is historically known to be part of natural Syria that British colonialism detached from it as a result of the conspiracy of the Sykes-Picot agreement, on whose basis natural Syria was broken down into countries which French and British colonialism split among themselves. The Balfour declaration came about to give Arab Palestine to Israel, to the point where Israel in its occupation has gone beyond much of the territory of Arab Palestine in accordance with the partition resolution issued by the United Nations. The Arab nation has the right to seek the return of the occupied portions of its land, which is a legitimate right based on the United Nations Charter. Arab weakness at the present stage may not enable our generation to reclaim its occupied territories, but we must build a strategic military balance and later liberate every portion of Arab territories. This is what we understand in Syria and what we are working toward.

Question: Syria is considered Lebanon's big brother. In the context of the ordeal this fraternal country is going through, what could one say about the developments of the trilateral agreement among the most important Lebanese forces to create ground for a national agreement among the Lebanese for the brothers?

Answer: Syria's relations with Lebanon have been distinctive from ancient times; these relations have indeed been distinctive since the days of the French mandate. Up to the days of the French mandate, there was economic, monetary and customs unity between the two countries, and there was freedom of movement for people and money. Since independence we have tried to make Lebanon a sovereign country free of all foreign influence, but Israel and the foreign forces, in cooperation with some groups conspiring with them, sought to make it an element of danger and a threat to Syria's security. The Lebanese political formula was always a source of tension and disruption in Lebanon, even before that, from the time of the last century. We in Syria have always borne a great burden for the sake of restoring things to their natural conditions in Lebanon. We have tried recently, for more than 10 years of civil war, to restore to Lebanon its unity and harmony so that these tragedies will not be repeated, and, by agreement with the influential, effective parties in Lebanon, we have managed to create an acceptable political formula as the trilateral Damascus agreement signed in December of last year. We believe that it is the optimum formula for establishing Lebanese reconciliation, and we are still working to carry out its main substance.

We can say that the Damascus agreement is a historic one and Syria will put full confidence in it on behalf of carrying it out, because it expresses the real interests of the Lebanese people, with all their factions, and has come as another slap at Israel and the people behind it, after the thwarting of

the 17 May agreement. Thus in Lebanon's return to its normal situation domestically and in its distinctive relations with Syria, Israel sees something that represents the greatest threat to its expansionist designs.

Question: Press sources say that there are two views concerning the strategic balance with Israel. While Syria considers that strategic military balance with Israel is a primary, basic condition for carrying out any action against Israel, which also requires actual Arab support for Syria's side, the Soviet Union considers that confrontation with Israel does not of necessity require a prior guarantee of strategic military balance with Israel. What is your opinion?

Answer: The Arab nations, in Amman and Baghdad, resolved to create the eastern front, which will be in balance with Israel. Egypt's isolation and signing of the Camp David agreement have removed it from the stage of the Arab-Israeli struggle. The Iranian-Iraqi war has also happened to isolate Iraq and paralyze its capabilities for participating in any effective action against any Israeli aggression.

Israel's invasion of Lebanon, its continuation of aggressions against the nuclear reactor in Iraq and against Tunisian territory and its annexation of the Golan are merely the greatest proof of the inability to act to deter Israel from aggression. As far as we in Syria are concerned, nothing remains before us but the option of establishing strategic balance with Israel. We are doing what is in our power to achieve this. We have reached a substantial stage in realizing this goal. We have started to see that this has started to yield fruit. Our resistance to the Israeli aggression against Lebanon, the thwarting of the 17 May agreement and Israel's withdrawal from the bulk of Lebanon is only an affirmation that an effective Syrian force exists which can persevere in the face of its enemies. Syria has not settled for this, since its power has started to be reflected on the Lebanese stage, and the heroic, stubborn resistance, which is the most prominent living phenomenon of the national resistance against Israel in modern Arab history, is just further proof that perseverant nationalist Syria can offer joint Arab action much with respect to Israeli aggression. As to our relations with the Soviet Union, there is a friendship and cooperation treaty between us and the friendly Soviet Union.

The Soviet Union is earnestly striving to build intrinsic Syrian military strength and it supplies us with all types of advanced weapons. We understand that defense of the nation is a sacred duty, one of its people's most undeniable duties. We are not asking the Soviet Union to defend us, but we must prepare ourselves, we the people of Syria and the people of the Arab nation, to defend our land, our dignity and our honor. We will reach imminent victory no matter how little or much time it will take. We defeated the resurrectionists and the Crusaders, and now the defeat of imperialist Zionism will come. We must triumph over it. That is the lesson of history, which we have learned from our forefathers.

PEOPLE'S DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC OF YEMEN

SOUTHERN OPPOSITION LEADERS ON ADEN SITUATION

Cairo AL-AMAL in Arabic 5 Mar 86 pp 4-9

[Interviews with Salim al-Safi and Shaykh Muhammad Bin Bubakr Bin 'Ajrumah: "AL-AMAL Interviews Southern Opposition Leaders"; date and place not specified]

[Text] In an attempt to understand the 23 January 1986 events in Aden and the background of what goes on there, AL-AMAL met this month with two southern opposition leaders.

The first one is Mr Salim al-Safi, leader of the League of the Sons of the South Party [LSSP] (the first and foremost political party in the south), who has played a significant and tangible role in the struggle, both politically and militarily, against British colonialism and the present Marxist puppet regime there.

The second one is Shaykh Muhammad Bin Bubakr Bin 'Ajrumah al-'Awlaqi (assistant secretary general of LSSP and executive committee member of the National Forces Grouping in South Yemen).

With these two important interviews, AL-AMAL hopes to offer sincere answers to several questions on the minds of Yemeni readers in particular and Arab leaders in general about the truth of the struggle in Marxist Aden and the appropriateness of solutions to existing problems.

[Question] As leader of the first and foremost political party in the South, can you give the reader a general evaluation of recent events in Aden?

[Al-Safi] The bloody struggle in Aden was not a surprise but many did not expect it to be so ugly and destructive. However, the deviant style of despots can only be ugly and brutal.

The struggle of those who call themselves comrades is a struggle for domination and ambitious designs rather than a contest in serving the interests of the country and its people. The struggle was not between the "comrades" and their opponents, but rather among the conflicting "comrades" themselves.



It has been clearly manifested that the slogans they raised and their custom-made organizations were nothing but a thin veil that does not hide contemptible savage tendencies.

[Question] A few months prior to the outbreak of fighting, the YSP held a conference in Aden. In your opinion, what was the real aim of holding that conference?

[Answer] We said after their highly-touted conference, in which deviants of patchwork and falsification from outside the country participated, that it was not an understanding in the interest of the afflicted people, but rather an opportunity for each of them to ambush the other for the purpose of tightening their grip and consolidating the abnormal situation at the South Yemeni, Arab, and Islamic levels.

They expected to mangle the parochial, regional, tribal, and clannish pillars in order to replace them with those who raise slogans and owe allegiance to international communism. 'Abd-al-Fattah Isma'il's return to the politburo was an indication of that. Even now, after all that has happened, their information media is back to extolling 'Abd-al-Fattah Isma'il to give us an indication of the new situation.

[Question] In your opinion, what exactly was the aim of the fighting?

[Answer] In the previous article entitled, "How Similar Tonight is to Yesterday," published in November following their unsuccessful conference, we said that the new phase would witness the liquidation of their tribal elements to be replaced by those who are totally dependent on raising communist international slogans. This has come to pass and many evil and opportunistic heads have been chopped off. There are other heads in the sack.

Russia, who threw some of its weight in the South, supplying the murderers with more weapons than the area needs, did not come here only to slink away as the British did, but it came for a purpose that it has not heretofore achieved and that is haggling with the West over interests.

Russia's purpose was not to win a handful of losers who raise communist slogans in a Muslim community. Rather it seeks to gain a foothold in the Arab world on the Red Sea and the Arabian Sea and which is close to oil sources and international waterways in order to use them as bargaining chips.

[Question] In this fight, several faces have disappeared, faces described by some as strong symbols of the Marxist regime. What will the situation be following their disappearance?

[Answer] If some faces have gone, new, redder faces will appear and they will be touted by the mass media. And just as the first ones were in a world different from that of the people of the South, those will also be intoxicated by titles and positions. The fingers that move the puppets will maintain their control and will remain as butterflies burning themselves in their worship of heat, unconcerned that people may burn in their fire.



Some like to say that they will have trouble in building their party and cadres, but the raw material is there and those who covet domination are many and propagandistic means will make a mountain out of a molehill.

Some like to say that Russia wants to get close to the countries of the Arabian Peninsula. This is wishfull thinking by those who want to ward off evil. Weapons used in the struggle of the comrades were not for safeguarding security in the South itself, but rather for disturbing the peace and, indeed, for destroying and killing innocent citizens who were not a party to the conflict.

The new despots will try to solicit new aid and I fear that the benevolent will be duped in the hope of containing them. They cannot be contained while Russia prevails over them.

[Question] With regard to former president 'Ali Nasir Muhammad, do you think that he will do something against the present rulers who deposed him and stripped him of his positions?

[Answer] Many people are wondering about what 'Ali Nasir may do. It appears, so far, that he is seeking conciliation. He has so far exhibited a willingness to pledge allegiance to Marxism and I believe that his chance at an armed invasion has been lost. Even those who have a temporary interest in helping him want him to be source of trouble for the new masters rather than to score a victory over them--not out of love for him but out of hatred for the two sides.

This is unless there are international surprises from outside the borders and unless Russia can guarantee a piece of the cake the West is holding. This does not mean that the situation in the South is of no concern to the neighbors. However, we must first agree on the meaning of "concern." The situation in the South does not worry the neighbors because it has been taken into consideration and they are well-aware of it.

However, the situation is of concern to the people of the South in the first place. The word "concern" here carries another meaning. It is concern with living and destiny.

I do not believe that the attentive people of the South imagine that others will solve their problems for them.

[Question] Will the current status in Aden win international recognition?

[Answer] The countries of the world will deal with any situation, either negatively or positively. Wishes are one thing and reality is another. The Arabs in general have been faced with situations imposed on them that have torn them asunder and sapped their strength. Most of the Arab countries' efforts are directed more at solving problems than at rapprochement, construction, and true security.

The West is not concerned with a handful of idle fascists raising communist slogans so long as its vital interests are not affected by that. Rather, the

West deals and bargains with their overlords, and as I said in a previous article, the Arabs are between a rock and a hard place--between an exploitive West whose sole concern is its own interests and hungry avaricious persons who want to wrest interests from others. The interests of these two parties are not the same as those of the people of the region.

[Question] Can our cause in the South, following the great uncovered conspiracy surrounding it, be considered an Arab and Islamic cause? And how do you think it should be handled on the Arab and Islamic levels?

[Answer] The Arabs must be heedful of the powerful, treacherous, exploitive adventurers and not of those who live on their crumbs. The Arabs will not enjoy true security and progress unless they reject petty differences and cooperate on sound bases unaffected by whim, and take into consideration the interests of survival in a world whose people struggle for selfish interests and resort to exploitation and subjection on the basis that force is right and their interests justify anything. As for religion, it is, as practiced in the East and the South, the dream of the weak and the oppressed.

Our defender in all of this is God's words, "And hold fast all together by the rope which God stretches out for you and be not divided among yourselves," as do the strong, laboring, just believers.

I do not view the cause of the South in isolation from the reality of the Arabs and Muslims. Ponder with me this strong belief in God's help in the Koranic verse: "And when the two hosts saw each other, the people of Moses said: 'We are sure to be overtaken.' Moses said: 'By no means! My Lord is with me and He will guide me!'"

"God guide my people for they understand not." God forbid that some of us should be among those whom "God has left astray."

God let us be among those who receive Your guidance.

As for partisanship, it is a screen for tribal and clannish struggles for power.

The people are the victims for neither of the two parties is concerned with the people's interest.

Time and events have proven that imported Marxist principles imposed on our people have no place in our country and our Arab Islamic Yemeni society.

Continued struggle and fighting in our country is the result of such imported principles that have been forced on our people and the result of one-party rule and party members' attempts to seize power for their own personal ends.

Marxist principles cannot be accepted by our Muslim people or by any peoples in the region.

The ruling regime in Aden, ever since the so-called independence--or Britain's turning over power to the National Front the morning it collaborated with it--has persisted in murder, conflict, and liquidation.

Those who have been in power are nothing but terrorist gangs following each other to wreak havoc in our country and to plunder and murder our people without mercy.

[Question] What exactly is the situation in Aden today?

[Bin 'Ajrumah] The truth is that the country has been totally destroyed. The establishments have been destroyed constructionally, economically, and from the standpoint of human resources. Military and security establishments and government offices of all kinds are in a state of chaos and disarray. The warring rulers have created hatred and malice among the people, even at the tribal, clan, and one-family levels.

The country used to live only on remittances of emigrants.

Today, the economy has totally collapsed and the government is unable to pay the salaries of the remaining civilian and military employees.

The country has been drained of all capabilities and working cadres able to run the affairs of state. All of them have been either murdered or jailed or have fled the country to save their lives.

The governorates do not have any officials. They are as a paralytic.

[Question] Some Adeni officials who have left the country described the southern opposition as "the garbage of history." What do you think?

[Answer] The people represented by the opposition are not "the garbage of history." The "garbage of history" are those who govern the people by iron and fire.

Whereas we do not wish to shed any more blood in order to spare the lives of our people in the South, we will never submit or surrender to the wish of the "gangs!"

Our people in the South are ready to spill more blood if the "gangs" do not respond to their will and their right to live in dignity.

We are ready to continue to struggle and sacrifice at any price until our people win all their national and political rights.

[Question] How do you perceive the solution to the tragedy of our people in the South?

[Answer] In its present situation, our country is in dire need of aid and assistance to pull it out of its ruin, disintegration, and collapse.

This can only be achieved by rectifying the wrong situation in Aden created by

Marxist party rule. Such rectification can only be achieved through establishing a democratic coalition government made up of all national forces in accordance with the provisions of the 1967 Arab League resolution and the realization of Yemeni unity in accordance with the belief of our Muslim people in both parts of the country.

The circumstances under which our South Yemen is living require our brothers in Arab countries to face their responsibilities and stand united to reunite the people of the South and help them get through their disasters and find ways that can unite them so they may rebuild their afflicted country.

We propose in this regard that the Arab countries, through the Arab League, arrange a meeting of all factions in the South with a view to dressing their wounds, building their country, and forming a national coalition government of all national forces.

Moreover, we implore our brothers in our beloved South, who are concerned with building their country and saving the people, to assist in all ways and means in the creation of a national coalition "salvation government."

We also implore His Excellency Colonel 'Abdallah Salih and GCC officials to do everything in their power to prevent a repetition of the disasters and tragedies that befell our Muslim South and to help bring about national unity among our people to free them of their well-known problems and hardships.

12502

CSO: 4404/311

PEOPLE'S DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC OF YEMEN

BRIEFS

ABYAN AGRICULTURAL PRODUCTION--The cotton planting plans in the agricultural production storage cooperative of Abyan Governorate has been fulfilled by 130 percent. A total of 1,200 feddans [approximately 1,200 acres -- FBIS] were planted during the first and second seasons of the 1985-1986 agricultural season. In a statement to ANA, the director of the cooperative said the cooperative's plans for the above-mentioned seasons were fulfilled by 94 percent. A total of 2,734 feddans were planted with various agricultural products, including cotton. [Excerpt] [Aden Domestic Service in Arabic 1500 GMT 27 Apr 86 GF]

PDRY-BULGARIA TRADE PROTOCOL--A trade protocol was signed yesterday between the PDRY and the People's Republic of Bulgaria, as part of the trade agreement between the two countries. It was signed by Dr 'Abdallah Muhammad 'Uthman, PDRY minister of industry, trade, and supplies; and Khristo Khristov, Bulgarian minister of foreign trade. The signing of the protocol takes place during Dr 'Abdallah 'Uthman's visit to Bulgaria. [Summary] [Aden Domestic Service in Arabic 1230 GMT 10 May 86 GF]

/12929

CSO: 4400/173



## YEMEN ARAB REPUBLIC

### PRESIDENT REPORTS INITIAL CENSUS RESULTS

Sanaa AL-THAWRAH in Arabic 13 Mar 86 pp 1-2

[Excerpts: "Agriculture Is The Basis and The Source of Constant Wealth for Our People"]

[Text] Colonel 'Ali 'Abdallah Salih, president of the republic, commander-in-chief of the armed forces, and secretary general of the General People's Congress, announced the preliminary results of the general household and population census completed last February. He explained that the aggregate figure of these results was 9,274,173 and compared the results of the 1986 general census to the results of the two previous ones in 1975 and 1981. This announcement was part of his important national speech he delivered in the celebration held at the main lecture hall of the Police Academy Club which began as follows:

In the name of God, the Merciful and the Compassionate, blessings and peace be upon the most honorable of the prophets. Gentlemen, officials of the Central Planning Agency, supervisors, high school and university students, members of the armed forces, security forces, and various popular and official sectors. It gives me pleasure on this historic day to announce the general results of the census in Yemen. First I would like to thank again the information agencies and all the employees of the radio and TV media for the illustrations that helped make the census a success. I would also like to express my thanks and appreciation for all our people who responded to and cooperated with this important project which will help us now and in the future to advance our development plans through the accurate census that included every village and every subdistrict owing to the deep political awareness of our people. The census was a success, a great success, because we are well aware that the previous censuses of 1975 and 1981, conducted by the National Cooperative for Development for Social Purposes, did not include all the villages and cities of the republic. However, the 1986 census has been successful, indeed very successful, thanks to God Almighty who guided all our masses and the supervisors and employees of the census. The census, as I have already said, will aid us in planning and scheduling our development plans in the various fields and in putting an end to our haphazard planning so as to embark upon practical, responsible, and programmed planning that can benefit all the cities and villages of the republic.

The census will benefit our country, particularly in the field of agricultural development which is the mainstay of our national economy. Our interest and our people's interest in agricultural development has been manifested through the response of all our masses represented in agricultural cooperatives as represented in the General Federation of Local Councils for Development. Agriculture has grown and developed, particularly following the historic governmental decree of 1983 limiting imports, fruits in particular, as well as certain luxuries, and advocating self-reliance. Our farms and our land have great promise and our markets, thank God, carry a large variety of agricultural products produced by our own people. Our entire population must pay great attention to agriculture. Agriculture is the basis and the mainstay and I once again call upon our masses, old and young, men and women, to plant productive trees that can benefit our country. Our people are making great efforts in the way of recovering mineral resources and, thank God, we have had positive results in recovering certain mineral resources. We have actually had oil recovery and, on 9 April of this year, the first oil refinery will be opened in Ma'rib al-Jawf deposit which will cover a large percentage of our local consumption.

This refinery, with a capacity of 10,000 to 12,000 bpd of refined oil products, will certainly benefit our national economy, especially since our country does not export any local raw material presently and, indeed, is totally dependent on imports. Our ambition is to achieve self-sufficiency in agriculture and industries in local raw materials instead of depending on foreign imports.

I promise you brothers, and I promise our people, that the government and all state employees will make every effort to employ our resources for the development of agriculture, national industries, and essential services. We do not believe that oil recoveries will relieve us of our responsibilities. On the contrary, recovery requires concerted efforts, greater endeavors, and more national incentives for the sake of agricultural development. Oil in any quantity is not a lasting wealth. We believe that agriculture is a lasting wealth. We have achieved, dear brothers, in these years positive results in the field of agriculture. Why? We have introduced modern automation, we have enlarged our arable land, we have reclaimed some farms, we have killed plant epidemics, and we have introduced better seeds. Agriculture has grown, but with the population growth, we feel that agricultural development has not grown adequately. We are required to make additional efforts to expand our arable land and to reclaim more land in order to achieve self-sufficiency. Agriculture is important, very important. Industries in local raw materials are what count, not industries in imported raw materials. I am sure that the government will work towards that end and will pay attention to agriculture. The Ministry of Agriculture will make great efforts in the field of agricultural guidance and development of agricultural cooperatives and will import modern machinery for farmers, in the hills in particular.

With regard to the census, the results are positive and gratifying. We will begin with the governorates and a comparison between 1975, 1981, and 1986.

Sanaa Province in 1975, including the city and the metropolitan area, was 1,041,249. In 1981 it was 1,740,744 and this year the city of Sanaa alone

427,185 and the Province of Sanaa is 1,429,651. Ta'izz Province: in 1975, 1,121,801, in 1981, 1,053,520, and in 1986, 1,643,901. Al-Hudaydah Province: in 1975, 807,575, in the 1981 cooperative census, 1,085,376, and in 1986, 1,294,359. Ibb Province: 1,020,994 in 1975, 1,347,987 in 1981, and 1,511,879 in 1986. Dhamar Province: 568,186 in 1975; 787,109 in 1981; and this year, 812,981. Hajjah Province: 490,820 in 1975, 880,619 in 1981, and 897,814 in 1986. Sa'dah Province: 268,841 in 1975, 332,364 in 1981, and 344,152 in 1986. Al-Mahwit Province: 224,054 in 1975, in 1981, 292,973 in 1981, and 322,226 in 1986. Al-Bayda' Province: 229,653 in 1975, in 1981, 327,539 in 1981, and 381,349 in 1986. Ma'rib and al-Jawf Provinces: 225,805 in 1975 for both provinces combined, 108,814 for Ma'rib and 83,074 for al-Jawf in 1981, and this year, 121,437 for Ma'rib and 87,299 for al-Jawf.

The total population for 1986 is 9,274,173.

Dear brothers. Again I thank all of you who worked for and contributed to the success of the population and household census and I thank all our people for their response during this period.

Dear brothers, we will continue our celebrations this month by giving those who suffered losses in the earthquake housing ready for occupancy. There are 1,200 units ready for occupancy. On 15 April, the election campaign for the General Popular Conference in administrative units throughout the country will begin. Long live the revolution and peace be upon you.

12502

CSO: 4404/308

SWISS MILITARY WRITER ANALYZES MUJAHIDIN TACTICS, MORALE

Frauenfeld ALLGEMEINE SCHWEIZERISCHE MILITAERZEITUNG in German Feb 86 pp 90-92

[Article by Lieutenant C. von Planta: "Fighting Spirit and Discipline of the Afghan Mujahedin"]

[Text] I. Unbroken Fighting Spirit of the Afghan Mujahedin

The war in Afghanistan has been going on for nearly 6 years, and despite this the Soviet invaders continue to face serious resistance.

This war has already claimed around one million victims, and nearly five million civilians have been forced to flee.

The Afghan guerrillas are fighting with the most primitive means against a highly mechanized army. They can also scarcely hope for a significant increase in their combat strength in the near future.

How is it even possible for the mujahedin to continue to believe in a victorious outcome of the war?

Based on personal experiences gained during two trips to Afghanistan between April and June 1985, I will attempt to deal with this question. Unfortunately, I feel compelled to base my reflections very strongly on my personal observations and interpretations since my knowledge of Persian and Pashtu were much too rudimentary for me to be able to ask about the different attitudes of Afghans.

I must also point out in advance that the mentality of the various ethnic and religious groups of Afghans and in the different parts of the country may vary to a very large extent. In the following commentary, I refer to the Pashtuns, who live in the area bordering on Pakistan.

During my second trip, I was able, as a cameraman, to take part in a mujahedin attack on the front. This campaign became an extremely memorable experience:

The resistance fighters from the Jegdalek valley were attempting to storm an enemy observation post along the important connecting road between Kabul and the Khyber Pass.

Since 1984, after the complete expulsion of the approximately 500 farming families and the destruction of the entire agricultural infrastructure, such attacks have been carried out by the remaining mujahedin on nearly a weekly basis.

The attack in question turned into a fiasco, and the group, 55 men strong, lost one fighter in the minefields, which were located near the enemy positions.

Elementary principles of warfare were violated. Here are several examples. Although there was no time pressure, reconnaissance of the attack terrain was insufficient. No one knew about the exact location of the minefields. Fire support from infantry weapons was, at a distance of 800-900 meters, much too far away from the enemy positions for it to have even a serious neutralizing effect on the target. The mujahedin were not divided up into groups until 30 minutes before the attack. Thus, well-adjusted coordination between the combatants was from the outset impossible. There was no contact between the two assault troops and the fire support. No one thought about the care of possible injured troops; even the bandage set had been left behind in the base camp, 10 hours away by foot.

I do not wish to generalize my selective experiences without differentiation, but from reports about other parts of Afghanistan as well, one gathers that problematic or chaotic behavior in the ranks of the resistance is widespread. One very fundamental question is obvious:

How do the Afghans keep their irrefutable fighting spirit intact under such poor circumstances?

One impressive aspect was the calmness with which the mujahedin from Jegdaley prepared for battle. Full of confidence, they believed that they would capture weapons and hoped for deserters from the enemy camp. Enthusiasm in battle was correspondingly high at the outset.

After the disastrous explosion of a land mine, the troops fell into retreat. But during this phase as well, there was no discernible panic or despair. The mujahedin were able to come to terms amazingly well with the demise of one of their comrades. Scarcely 19 years old, this mujahedin was called by Allah and buried by his fellow fighters with the honors befitting a "holy warrior." After 3 days, they set out, unflustered, on a new attack. They impressed me as being amazingly carefree and somehow fatalistic, since they did not draw any kind of basic conclusions from their most recent defeat.

The guerrillas in the Jegdaley apparently do not know the idea or even the meaning of a cost-benefit analysis. This vexing phenomenon is probably explained more or less as follows:

Because many Afghans from the rural population scarcely have any higher education, their imagination remains basically supported by and limited to their everyday surroundings; it is only with difficulty that they can distance themselves from their romantic concept of war, anchored in tradition. (In the



First World War, thousands of soldiers in Europe as well were sent into machine gun fire without any thought being given to the sense or purpose of this questionable heroism.)

Many Afghans are still bound to the idea from the Middle Ages that the outcome of a war depends primarily on the courage and boldness of the individual combatant.

Only a few of them have realized that in a modern war the quality of the armaments, the level of military training and the application of appropriate tactics have become additional factors in determining success. Even fewer are capable of drawing useful conclusions from the above-mentioned realization. The sharp differences of opinion and the rivalries within the Afghan resistance are also a factor in these problems.

In Jegdaley I got the impression that the fighters scarcely make a direct association between their hopes for victory and the successes or failures of an individual campaign. The catastrophic consequences of the war and the unimaginable strains of permanent combat have thus far been endured by an amazingly large number of Afghans without resignation. The conviction that they are fighting for a just cause appears to be invincible.

Certainly religion plays a significant role in this context, because legitimacy for all efforts (and their consequences) can be found in the idea of the "holy war" against the "godless communists." However, one should be careful not to see purely religious fanatics in the Afghan mujahedin. Their strength of resistance is fed from other sources as well:

The close connection to their home (patriotism) and their deeply rooted demand for self-determination, which would never permit the assimilation of any imposed societal forms, are other elements of their combat morale.

Many Afghans would also have sufficient motivation for maintaining their almost axiomatic will for resistance without religious conviction: an enormous number of Afghans have already lost everything except for their own lives; they are only fulfilled by one pursuit: to win back their country and their independence.

## II. What Is the Value of "Discipline" in the Afghan Resistance?

If one starts purely theoretically with the definition in the duty regulations of the Swiss Army (Number 205), it quickly becomes difficult to find indications of disciplined behavior in the daily wartime situation of the Afghans.

The many examples of so-called undisciplined conduct are especially striking.

The commanders of the resistance hardly issue commands, but at best instructions that can be interpreted by individual combatants on their own, and the requirement of obedience should not be subjected to a particularly strong endurance test.

In Wardak, not even sentry duty was viewed as an order. All the sentries at the mountain strongholds interpreted their instructions as they saw fit. Some of them slept, and they had no problems with leaving their positions during inhospitable weather to warm up around their comrades' campfire.

The leadership of the various resistance groups is often insufficiently structured. There is no clearcut division of authority. In many places there is no staff on the level of corporal or platoon leader. For this reason, there is no clear stipulation of decision-making and command authority. Naturally, under such circumstances, it is impossible to attach the same value to responsibility as in, say, the Swiss Army. As soon as the behavioral norms, customs and practices between different cultural circles display great differences, then it is possible to find common denominators with respect to concepts such as "responsibility," "conscience," "duty" and thus also "discipline" in their definitions, but not in their content.

Living together with the Afghans leads one to think that manifestations of discipline must be variable.

Discipline may well be the "conscious fitting in into the whole and the fulfillment of duty to the best of one's knowledge and conscience" (Duty Regulations, Number 205.1), but the temporally and geographically specified differences in moral concepts and practices has a lasting influence on the development of the conscience, and also on the understanding of duty.

How does this then affect the assertion that the internal strength of an army is based on discipline?

If the content of discipline cannot be described in a way that is globally valid, then "internal strength" is also not timelessly and universally definable. However, as soon as discipline is understood according to its essence, instead of its formal content, and one comes to the conclusion that conviction, in connection with the "fulfillment of duty to the best of one's knowledge and conscience," becomes the only crucial criterium, then the internal strength of an army can in fact be based on discipline, insofar as there is talk of a collective conviction within a combat unit.

This collective conviction is difficult to grasp. It is true that everyone believes that they know what it means, but if different values and behavioral norms are assumed, misunderstandings cannot be avoided.

Put to a hard test, it is quickly seen whether a common denominator in a collective conviction can in fact be found for a combat unit, or whether the sense of community is lost in the total confusion of contradictory world views.

Caution is possibly called for in using the word "discipline," because all too often there can be no certainty concerning whether joint convictions are in fact the common assumption. The often superficial and thoughtless use of the concept of "discipline" has led us to remarkable semantic confusion. In the military environment here, many things are relegated to the category of "discipline," even though very few significant things have to do with

conviction; for this reason, and correctly so, the concept of obedience would often be much more apt. Should a clear distinction not be made for us between disciplinary punishment and obedience punishment?

It is irrefutable that the basis for the Afghans' specific, but genuine discipline is their unshakeable fighting spirit. There are no cowards or even any deserters. The readiness to make sacrifices is total!

Thus, the pressured Afghans must have a real chance of gaining more efficient forms of combat for the mujahedin, on the solid basis of their apparently sound discipline, and from an improved command structure, training and equipment.

12271

CSO: 4620/40

MUJAHIDIN LEADERS CONDEMN UN POLICY, 'EAST-WEST COLLUSIONS'

Tehran JOMHURI-YE ESLAMI in Persian 8 Apr 86 p 11

[Text] In an interview with JOMHURI-YE ESLAMI's correspondent dispatched to Pakistan, leaders of the Afghan Mujahidin groups condemned the UN policy towards the Afghanistan problem and the hidden agreements and collusions about Afghanistan made between East and West.

During the past years, the United Nations has made great efforts to resolve the Afghanistan crisis in a way which secures the desire of Eastern arrogance and stabilizes the Russian colonialists; puppet communist regime in Kabul. To this end the United Nations, whose policy also is accompanied by support for the united front of world arrogance, from 1984 to the present has dispatched its representative from time to time to the region in order to persuade the governments of Iran, Pakistan and Afghanistan to accept its compromising plan. The Islamic Republic of Iran, however, while explicitly opposing any sort of solution which includes official recognition of the illegal and "coup d'etat" Afghan government, has rejected the UN's policies on Afghanistan. As a result, the aforementioned organization gave up hope in regards to Islamic Iran and made extensive efforts to convince at least the Pakistani and Afghan governments to accept its colonialist plan.

As the UN's activities intensified with the continual and repeated trips of Diego Cordovez to Kabul and Islamabad, in an exclusive interview with JOMHURI-YE ESLAMI's political correspondent, the leaders of the Afghan Muslim resistance groups condemned the policy of the UN towards Afghanistan, and rejected any solution that ignores the wish of the suffering Muslim Afghan people.

In the interview, which took place in Peshawar, Pakistan, Mulavi Nasrullah Mansur, head of the Afghanistan Islamic Revolutionary Movement (Harekat-e Enqelabi-ye Islami-ye Afghanistan), stated:

"In our view, the UN representative Cordovez's negotiations with the Pakistani and Afghan governments is an intrigue to divert the Afghan Islamic Movement. Afghanistan's solution is to throw the Russian occupation forces out of the country. The Russians created the crisis with their invasion of the country and in order to confront this crisis one must struggle against the aggression and occupation. The Afghan people have seen the solution in the continuation

of the war against the Russian aggressors. Our path is that of armed struggle, and this is the path that the conditions of the day have opened to us. We believe that any path other than this will not achieve victory".

Golbeddin Hekmatyar, head of the Afghanistan Islamic Party (Hezb-e Islami-ye Afghanistan), expressed his view concerning the hidden agreements between the UN and the Pakistani and Afghan governments as follows: "The Afghan problem is a problem that began with the aggression by Russian forces against this country. Naturally, this problem will not be solved as long as one aggressor Russian soldier is present in Afghanistan. As long as the Russian forces are in Afghanistan, talk of negotiation is idle, and no effort will bear fruit. The Afghan people believe that the precondition for achieving results in negotiations is the departure of the Russian aggressor forces from Afghanistan. When the Russian aggressor forces leave Afghanistan, then the field will be open for negotiation about the destiny of the Afghan people. The negotiations by the representative of the UN secretary general not only will not lead to a solution of the Afghan crisis, but will make the crisis more complicated. The Russians want to make use of these negotiations, to profit from them and to beguile the world's people. They want to use these talks to diminish the hatred that exists in the world against their aggressive policies. They have been defeated in Afghanistan, and these talks are a cover-up for their defeat. They want to show that they are so-called supporters of peace in the Afghan issue. However, Afghanistan up to now has been the scene of their crimes. We will not tire of war, and we believe that it is only by this means that we can gain our rights. We will continue this policy as long as there is one foreign soldier in Afghanistan."

In response to a question by our correspondent concerning the UN's policy in Afghanistan, Borhanuddin Rabbani, leader of the Afghanistan Islamic Society (Jam'iyat-e Eslami-ye Afghanistan), stated:

"The Afghan nation will not accept any effort to solve the Afghan problem as long as the Russians are in the country. The parties to the negotiation to solve the Afghan problem are persons who possess no rights in Afghan developments. None of these parties has any right to determine our fate. This kind of meeting was always intended for deceit and trickery, and the Afghan Muslim people are acquainted with all these tricks. The Afghan nation will not be satisfied with any path except continuing the struggle to achieve victory as long as the Russian aggressor army is occupying our country soil. The Afghan problem will be solved when an Islamic government has come to power in that country."

9597/9312

CSO: 4640/271



PARTIES, PUBLIC CONDEMN U.S. ATTACK ON LIBYA

Dhaka THE BANGLADESH OBSERVER in English 13 Apr 86 pp 1, 4

[Text] The seven-party alliance in a meeting on Thursday condemned the US aggression on Libya and expressed solidarity with Libya against American imperialism.

The alliance believed that the US would be defeated in their design against Libya under the pressure of world opinion. The alliance also condemned the British collaboration with the Americans in the air raid on Libya that killed hundreds of innocent Libyan people.

The meeting was presided over by Democratic League General Secretary Mr Irshadullah. Barrister Abdus Salam Talukdar Major General (Rtd) Majedul Huq Dewan Sirajul Huq, Mr Abdul Matin Chowdhury and Mr Abdul Mannan Bhuiyan of BNP Mr Shamsul Arefin of UPP, Mr Shakawat Matin of NAP (Bhasani) and Advocate Mia Sadequr Rahman of UPP were present at the meeting.

Mohiuddin Ahmed, President of the party in the chair on Thursday condemned the U.S. attack on Libya and called upon the democratic and peace loving people of the world to protest against it.

Bangladesh Shikhak Samity (Amanullah) also condemned the attack and requested interference of the United Nations about it.

Shah Abdus Sattar, Convener, Bangladesh Seerat Mission on Thursday has called for a special prayer in the country's all mosques after juma prayer today (Friday) seeking divine blessings for the emancipation of the Muslims from the aggressive forces.

He said that Muslims in different countries including Afghanistan and Libya were in danger following aggressions of the Soviet Union and the United States respectively.

/9274

CSO: 4600/1721

# NOMINATION REVIEW BY OPPOSITION LEADERS REJECTED

Dhaka THE BANGLADESH OBSERVER in English 18 Apr 86 p 1

[Text] Two review applications challenging the acceptance of the nomination papers of Jatiya Party candidates Mr Jahangir Md Adil and Mr S. A. Khaleque were disposed of by the Election Commission on Thursday with the observation that without taking evidence and calling for various records from the Government and Dhaka Municipal Corporation no findings can be arrived at on the allegations that respondents are enjoying emoluments or benefits by virtue of their office to bring it within the definition of office of profits and that Dhaka Municipal Corporation was existed or not at the time of their appointment as Deputy Administrators. The Commission did not interfere with the orders of the Returning Officer.

The Election Commission consisted of Mr Justice Chowdhury A. T. Masud Chief Election Commissioner and Mr A. M. Chowdhury Election Commissioner heard the matter on April 13 and 14.

The election commission observed that Section 91 of the Representation of the People Order 1972 provides powers for the Election Commission to review an order passed by any officer under this Order but it does not contemplate an elaborate enquiry in the nature of holding trial taking evidence and calling for records. The Commission further observed that the Election Commission will no doubt interfere in a case, where the facts are not disputed and the illegality is apparent on the face of the nomination paper but not in the instant case where there are disputes on material facts, which can be determined only after an elaborate enquiry on taking evidence both oral and documentary. With reference to the allegations that the respondents were abusing official positions in order to induce the voters the Commission pointed out that there are specific provisions in the Representation of People Order 1972 for prosecution of such offenders.

It may be recalled that the two review applications were filed against the Orders dated April 7 1986 passed by the Returning Officer (D. C. Dhaka) accepting the nomination papers of Mr Jahangir Md Adil, a candidate from Constituency 186 of Dhaka--7 and Mr S. A. Khaleque a candidate from Constituency 1970 Dhaka-11. The review applications were filed by Awami League Candidates, Sheikh Hasina and Dr Kamal Hossain Against the two Jatiya Party candidates who are at present Deputy Administrators of Dhaka Municipal Corporation.

/9274

CSO: 4600/1721

## BRIEFS

ENVOYS TO UK, FRG--The government has decided to appoint Lt Gen (Retd) Mir Shawkat Ali, at present Ambassador to Bangladesh to the Federal Republic of Germany, as High Commissioner of Bangladesh to the United Kingdom, a foreign office announcement said Wednesday. The government also decided to appoint Major General Muzamud Hussain at present Ambassador of Bangladesh to Sweden as the country's Ambassador to the Federal Republic of Germany. [Text] [Dhaka THE NEW NATION in English 24 Apr 86 p 3] /9274

LIBYAN RAID CONDEMNED--Bangladesh Awami League yesterday condemned the U.S. air raid on Libya and bombings on the barrack of President Gaddafi and civilian targets. The Awami League in a protest meeting held under the chairmanship of its Presidium member Syeda Zohra Rajuddin at its office yesterday said that through this act the USA had manifested its warlike attitude which was repugnant to United Nations Charter. The meeting in a resolution urged the peace loving people of the world to rise against such kinds of crime. Barrister Shawkat Ali Khan addressed the meeting, among others. [Text] [Dhaka THE NEW NATION in English 22 Apr 86 pp 1, 8] /9274

TEAM TO MOSCOW--A three-member Bangladesh Peace Council delegation left Dhaka on Tuesday for Moscow enroute to Sofia to attend the World Peace Council meeting there, reports BSS. According to a press release, the delegation comprises Mr Abu Zafar Shamsuddin and Mr Ali Aksad President and General Secretary respectively of the council, and former Chief Justice Kemajuddin Hossain. The press release said Mr Ali Aksad is also expected to attend an international festival of songs for peace in Baghdad later this month on the way back home. [Text] [Dhaka THE BANGLADESH TIMES in English 24 Apr 86 p 3] /9274

DHAKA-RIYADH AIR SERVICE--Bangladesh and Saudi Arabia signed Tuesday an air service agreement between the two countries, reports BSS. The agreement was signed at a ceremony in the office of the President of Civil Aviation of Saudi Arabia, a PID handout said in Dhaka on Wednesday. The agreement envisages that Bangladesh Biman and Saudi would operate a total of 3 flights each week between the two countries. [Words indistinct], he mentioned that the agreement was negotiated and initiated in November 1980. Bangladesh was represented by the Bangladesh Ambassador in Saudi Arabia Mr. Hedayet Ahmed and the Government of the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia was represented by Sheikh Nassir Assef President of Civil Aviation. It may be recalled that Bangladesh Biman and Saudi have been operating air services since 1979 by their respective national carriers on the basis of temporary operating permits. [Text] [Dhaka THE BANGLADESH OBSERVER in English 24 Apr 86 p 1] /9274

## SOVIET BID TO AID POWER PLANT CONSTRUCTION UNDER STUDY

Calcutta THE STATESMAN in English 11 Apr 86 p 14

[Text]

THE West Bengal Government has accepted the Soviet offer for construction of the 630-MW thermal power plant at Bakreswar, Birbhum district, in preference to the Japanese proposal. The State Government has, however, formally informed the Centre that it can consider the bid by the Japanese firm which has a tie up with the Indian company, Development consultants, if it does not approve the Soviet offer. The Soviet Company has formed a consortium with Birla Technical Services for the purpose.

Mr Prabir Sengupta, Minister of State for Power, said in Calcutta on Thursday that the committee set up by the State Government to evaluate the two proposals had preferred the Soviet offer to the Japanese bid.

The consortium floated by the Soviet company and the Birlas,

was currently building two power plants—one in Bindhyachal, Uttar Pradesh, and the other in Kahalgaon, Bihar. Since the Soviets had at present a tie-up with Bharat Heavy Electricals in the matter of supply of equipment for the two plants, there was a proposal that the Soviets would procure equipment for the Bakreswar plant, worth about Rs 198 crores, from BHIEL and other indigenous manufacturers. The Japanese firm however, proposed to import all the equipment from Japan. Also, the payment to the Soviets would be made in rupees.

The State Government's financial involvement, if the Soviet offer was accepted, would be Rs 367 crores compared with Rs 179 crores for the Japanese proposal. But the financial hurdle could be overcome with the Centre agreeing to allow the State Government to raise funds through issue of bonds.

/12851

CSO: 4600/1685

## MMTC LANDS MAJOR IRON ORE EXPORT CONTRACT TO JAPAN

Bombay THE TIMES OF INDIA in English 14 Apr 86 p 9

[Text]

NEW DELHI,

April 13 (PTI).

**A**FTER years of painstaking efforts, the Minerals and Metals Trading Corporation (MMTC) has succeeded in bagging a major contract for export of 2.5 million tonnes of iron ore concentrates per annum from Kudremukh to Japan.

Disclosing this to newsmen here today, the MMTC chairman, Mr. S. V. S. Raghavan, said Japan has agreed to lift 25 million tonnes of concentrates over a ten year period.

He said the MMTC was also trying to sell Kudremukh ore to China. Besides, the corporation had secured firm orders for the supply of half-a-million tonnes of concentrates to Yugoslavia.

With these additional markets, the Kudremukh Iron Ore Company,

which had been in the doldrums ever since its inception following the withdrawal of Iran from its contractual obligations, is expected to end 1985-86 without any cash loss.

Mr. Raghavan said for the expansion of the Paradip port, a scheme had been submitted to the government. It envisages an expenditure of Rs. 500 crores for port and mine development and for setting up rail heads.

He said the MMTC was still toying with the idea and analysing the pros and cons of floating bonds to raise this money.

He said there was considerable demand for diamonds abroad. At present, the corporation was exporting diamonds worth only Rs. 50 crores. Its goal was to increase the exports to Rs. 200 crores. Several countries including Australia, were being tapped for the purpose.

/12851

CSO: 4600/1686



## PROCEEDINGS OF 13 APR SARBAT KHALSA REPORTED

Calcutta THE STATESMAN in English 14 Apr 86 pp 1, 9

[Article by M. L. Kotru]

[Text]

**AMRITSAR, April 13.**—A call was given from the Akal Takht here today by the militant usurpers of the highest seat of Sikh religious and temporal authority for the virtual creation of Khalistan. In the presence of barely 6,000 people, termed by the militants as a Sarbat Khalsa, the most important of Sikh religious gatherings, Mr Gurbachan Singh Manachal, a man with a prize on his head and one of the five named by the militants to run the affairs of the Golden Temple on January 26, called upon Sikhs "everywhere" to take to arms.

Bhindranwale, he told the excited crowd, had prophesied that the day the Army entered the Golden Temple, the foundation of Khalistan would have been laid. That was what had happened, he said, while reading out a resolution, which one learnt later had been adopted unanimously. Sikhs, he added, must live true to the word of Bhindranwale and Gobind Singh. The latter, he said, had given the cry Raj Karega Khalsa (the Sikhs shall rule) and every Sikh now owed it to himself and to his faith to have the dream realized.

It was in this context that Mr Manachal asked the Sikhs to take to arms "appropriate to our situation" to fight the "oppressive 20% Brahmanical tyranny" of the "Delhi durbar". He wanted all the minorities—Muslims, Sikhs, Christians, Buddhists and the "dalits" (whatever that may mean) — to come under one flag.

**RESOLUTION**

The resolution adopted by the "Sarbat Khalsa" called upon all the Akali MLAs, Ministers and others to resign from all positions occupied by them. Mr Barnala, the Punjab Chief Minister, had sold himself to the "Delhi durbar". Mr Manachal thundered, amid wild cries of "Sat Sri Akal". As a clincher, he called upon the U.N. to sponsor a trial along the lines of

the Nuremburg war criminals trial, against the President, Giani Zail Singh, the late Prime Minister, Indira Gandhi, Mr Rajiv Gandhi, Mr Barnala, and Mr P. V. Narasimha Rao, besides others.

Not surprisingly, after all this, "Khalistan zindabad" at least by now seemed to have become the battle cry of the congregation. If this resolution was intended to project the collective wisdom of the Sikh community one must confess that it was just not that. For one, it did not click as a show of strength.

It did prove though that the militants were totally in control of the Golden Temple and all that goes with it. The most important thing—and which must worry the militants—the "Sarbat Khalsa" failed to produce people, the Sikh sangat, in whose name decisions were ostensibly made.

True, the tight police bandbast might have deterred some people from coming to the temple complex today. But then it was Baisakhi, the most important religious festival—an occasion on which every Sikh would wish to be inside the temple rather than out of it.

Yet, it was a fact that at no time did one notice this morning and throughout the afternoon more than a mere trickle of devotees, that is, of course, excluding the

militants who were preening like so many peacocks. Only they were dressed in yellow turbans (a hall mark of martyrdom) and long flowing kurtas.

The ordinary Sikh, it would seem in retrospect, chose to stay back at home rather than be seen in bad company. So, at least it seems to this reporter. Take Mr Manachal, the main spokesman for the "Sarbat Khalsa" today. It was a sight to see him walking down the marbled parikrama, a fierce-looking man, trying his best to look like Bhindranwale, escorted by six gun-toting young men.

My Sikh colleague from Amritsar instinctively asked me to put my notebook away. "Why?", I asked. "You never know what may happen. He might think that you are from the intelligence. And he is a wanted man". There were others present in the temple, all wanted by the police for known acts of criminal violence. To name them would amount to duplicating Mr Ribeiro's hit-list of wanted terrorists.

A little later came Bhal Gurdev Singh, the militant-appointed high priest of the Akal Takht, equally well guarded, but forced to walk a slower pace because he had chosen to take in Baba Joginder Singh, the United Akali Dal chief. There were some others also—but in hiding, it seemed—like the former Akal Takht chief who was literally hiding in a first floor room guarded by two Government-appointed security men.

The man was so scared he would not talk to this reporter. There was an architect, very much in evidence at the "Sarbat Khalsa" venue, right in front of where the demolished Akal Takht is slowly taking shape, explaining why the

progress had been so painfully slow. In passing he mentioned that two of the three "kar seva" babas who were helping senior babas with the reconstruction of the Akal Takht had pocketed Rs 8 lakhs. Both, he alleged, had bought air-conditioned limousines. He did not like to be drawn into other reasons for the slow pace of work.

Then there was the disgruntled militant who wanted to know why the gold leaves removed from the reconstructed Akal Takht (after the Army action) had not been deposited with the Golden Temple treasury. The militants were holding it in their custody. As far as the SGPC was concerned it might well not exist. A visit to its offices next to the Guru Nanak Niwas brought one face-to-face with desolation. The once-bustling office complex is completely deserted, its windows and doors sealed with wooden boards. A reminder of the dog days the SGPC is passing through was available in the shape of the many old dog sleeping on the verandah.

But that is a story by itself. Today, the day at the Golden Temple belonged to the militants. If the mainstream Sikh did not join them the loss, as the militants would have it, was theirs and not the militants. As one of the more important militant leaders said: "We will take over all the major gurdwaras in the country. Nothing can stop us. Neither Ravi Gandhi's Brahmmins nor the likes of Barnala". Major announcements, he said, would be made during the next few days. "And we have Baba Joginder Singh's word for yet another major announcement on May 1". That marks the first anniversary of his ascendancy to "power".

/12851

CSO: 4600/1692

## INDIAN DEFENSE FORCES HOLD 'BIGGEST EVER' WAR GAME

Bombay THE TIMES OF INDIA in English 21 Apr 86 p 9

[Text]

## ON THE WEST COAST,

April 20 (PTI).

**M**EMORIS of the 'D-Day' were revived on the rough sandy deserted beach near here recently. The specialised forces of the Indian army and the navy carried out a daring amphibious landing in pitch darkness as part of the biggest ever army, navy and air force joint war game off the west coast.

The operation unfolded before the three service chiefs, Adm. R. H. Tahiliani, chairman of the joint chiefs of staff committee, army chief, Gen. K. Sundarji and the air force chief, Air Chief Marshal D. A. La Fontaine.

The formations taking part were the elite paratroopers, commandoes and the amphibian and armoured units of the army and landing ships of the navy, while the pride of the air force, the Mirages, the Jaguars and the MiGs battled overhead for supremacy of the skies.

The week-long operation started at 6.30 p.m. on Friday with a massive airdrop of a full parabrigrade over the Greens Hills of the Western Ghats with 18 Soviet made AN 32's and IL-76's rekindling memories of the historic 'D-Day' droppings at Normandy.

The paratroopers part of the attacking blue force with the aim of cap-

turing three major cantonments in infantry combat vehicles into the the hinterland spread out and in sea.

lightning movements with the element of surprise with them captured the designated air field to enable the transportation of more troops by air.

Simultaneously, the para-commandoes slithered down from helicopter gunships to secure the important bridges, roads and lines of communication for the main force to be disgorged from the landing ships and crafts.

The Rendezvous point for the amphibious landing, the spotlight of the exercise was on a little used beach on the West Coast, which the attacking forces reconnaissance aircraft had marked out. Just minutes to midnight the gentle sounds of waves lapping ashore, was broken by a full naval armada opening up with their heavy guns, as the Sea Harriers from the carrier Vikrant flew countless sorties to soften the coastal fortifications and keep the enemy aircraft at bay.

Then as if out of blue, the horizon was suddenly silhouetted by five sturdy naval landing crafts. The crafts floating in the sea with their engines shut and the navigational lights switched off to avoid detection sneaked to just a mile off the coast and then opened their giant bow doors to discharge their lethal loads of tanks and

The Tanks, the infantry combat vehicles, steamed into the shallow sea and headed for the shore with their guns and cannons belching fire. As they hit the shoreline, they engaged the enemy defences and silenced the guns.

Then came the smaller landing crafts who did a perfect hard beaching and out stormed the elite amphibious groups to their traditional war cry. After securing the beach head, the troops then fanned out for their assigned targets on land.

After beaching, the columns moved in two pincers towards their targets while the third force consisting of a big armoured column launched the flanking attack from the south. The three pincers then made a rendezvous around the objective catching the defending forces in two giant cauldrons and forced them to surrender.

Amphibious operations have an important role to play in military tactics and the most famous "beachings" include that at Dunkirk in World War II and the Falklands War more recently. India's long coast-line and far flung island territories both in the Bay of Bengal and the Arabian Sea warrant a high degree of amphibious capability.

/12851

CSO: 4600/1693

## BRIEFS

APPEAL AGAINST GANDHI--New Delhi, 25 Apr--The Supreme Court today upheld the judgment of the Allahabad High Court dismissing two election petitions challenging the election of the Prime Minister, Mr Rajiv Gandhi, to the Lok Sabha in December 1984 from the Amethi constituency. The Bench consisting of Mr Justice E. S. Venkataramiah and Mr Justice M. P. Thakkar observed that the petitions which lacked "material facts and particulars" deserved to be dismissed as disclosing no cause of action. On going through all the grounds, the Bench felt they (the grounds) were so frivolous and the vexatious that the only order to be passed on the petitions was the one which had been made by the High Court. The Bench also said that the allegations in the petitions "even if taken as true, do not disclose any cause of action." The Bench in this context noted a submission from counsel for Mr Rajiv Gandhi that the respondent would not claim costs either in the High Court or in the Supreme Court. The election petitions were filed by Mr Azar Hussain, an elector, and Mr Bhagwati Prasad Dixit Ghorewala, an unsuccessful candidate. [Text] [Madras THE HINDU in English 26 Apr 86 p 9] /9274

SUPREME COURT JUDGES--New Delhi, April 23 (UNI)--Parliament today gave its approval for increasing the strength of the Supreme Court judges from 17 to 25 with the passage of the relevant Bill in the Rajya Sabha. The Supreme Court (number of judges) Amendment Bill, 1985, has already been adopted by the Lok Sabha. Replying to the debate on the Bill, the law minister, Mr A.K. Sen, said the government was considering a proposal to increase emoluments of the judges and raising the retirement age of the Supreme Court judges. Mr Sen said a Bill for raising the salary and providing better amenities to judges would be brought before Parliament soon. Mr Sen said, "We must make the salary of the judges more respectable and compatible. Provision of conveyance and proper accommodation near their court was also being looked into." The Chief Justice, Mr P. N. Bhagwati, was preparing a draft legislation for providing free legal aid to the poor, he said. He called upon the teaching staff to improve the standard of law training. [Text] [Calcutta THE TELEGRAPH in English 24 Apr 86 p 1] /12851

'SECRET' NEPAL VISIT--Kathmandu, April 19 (PTI)--The Union commerce minister, Mr P. Shivshankar, paid a three-day "secret" visit to Nepal from April 13, a leading Nepali weekly today exposed. The weekly, Vimarsha, said Mr Shivshankar had talks with a "high level person" on Tuesday evening. The flight to New Delhi was delayed because he was at the meeting. It speculated that the visit by the Indian minister on the eve of the elections meant that the discussions centred on not allowing people from across the border into Nepal during the polls. It further said that this was the third visit by Mr Shivshankar in the last ten months to Nepal, and described him as Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi's "trouble shooter." [Text] [Calcutta THE TELEGRAPH in English 20 Apr 86 p 5] /12851

LOWEST INFLATION RATE--New Delhi, April 23--The Wholesale Price Index for March 29, 1986, gives an inflation rate of 3.7% for the year 1985-86 as a whole, reports PTI. This is half the rate of 7.6% in 1984-85. The rate of inflation in 1985-86 was the lowest except that in 1981-82. [Text] [Calcutta THE STATESMAN in English 24 Apr 86 p 9] /12851

NATIONAL ADVISORY COUNCIL--New Delhi, April 21 (UNI)--A six-member national level advisory council has been set up under the chairmanship of eminent industrialist Mr Ratan N. Tata, to streamline project schedules. Constituted at the instance of Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi, the council will advise the programme implementation ministry on progress in projects and organisation development. All central sector projects costing Rs 100 crores or more are currently being intensively monitored by the programme implementation ministry. They included 28 power projects, 14 petroleum and natural gas projects, and 16 coal projects. Among them are also fertiliser, steel and mines projects. An official press release said the Prime Minister was quite concerned that the projects be completed speedily so that its benefits start flowing to the people at the earliest. An assessment made by the programme implementation ministry has revealed that the total cost of the 108 delayed projects costing Rs 20 crores or more has not been anticipated to be Rs 43,154 crores as against Rs 24,803 crores originally. [Text] [Bombay THE TIMES OF INDIA in English 22 Apr 86 p 3] /12851

CONGRESS-I REPRESENTATION--New Delhi, April 21 (PTI)--The strength of the Congress in the Rajya Sabha went down by ten while that of Telugu Desam went up by five with 18 new members taking oath today. Prominent among the new comers is Mr Hokishe Sema (Cong), who had resigned from the governorship of Himachal Pradesh to contest for the Rajya Sabha from Nagaland. Mrs Margaret Alva, minister of state for youth affairs, women and sports, and Mr G. Swamy Naik of the Congress were the only two to be reelected to the upper house. Of the 18-members who took their oath today five each are from the Congress and the Telugu Desam, three from the Janata, two each from the Asam Gana Parishad (AGP) and the CPM and one from the Muslim League. With the 18 members taking oath today, the Congress strength in the house came down to 149 from 159, while that of Telugu Desam went up to ten from five. [Text] [Bombay THE TIMES OF INDIA in English 22 Apr 86 p 12] /12851

ATULYA GHOSH DEATH--Calcutta, April 18--Mr Atulya Ghosh, former strongman of the West Bengal Congress, died here this afternoon at a nursing home, where he was admitted last Saturday in an unconscious state. He was 82. He is survived by his wife and son. A former member of Parliament, Mr Ghosh had been a key figure in the Congress for two decades after independence. He was among those Congressmen who were responsible for Mrs Indira Gandhi's becoming Prime Minister on the death of Mr Lal Bahadur Shastri. After the split in the party in 1969, he chose to remain with those who formed the so-called syndicate. He retired from active politics soon after the first Congress defeat in West Bengal in 1967. Since then, Mr Ghosh busied himself with developing the "Bidhan Sishu Udyau," a children's complex. He also wrote occasional articles on contemporary political developments. PTI adds: The Congress legislature party expressed profound sorrow at the demise of Mr Ghosh. The President, Mr Zail Singh and the Prime Minister, Mr Rajiv Gandhi, have also expressed their deep grief. [Text] [Bombay THE TIMES OF INDIA in English 19 Apr 86 p 1] /12851



NEW ARGENTINE ENVOY--President Zail Singh has stressed the need for defusing tension in different parts of the world and for immediately putting a halt to the nuclear arms race. The nuclear arms race must be stopped in order to prevent a holocaust which threatens the very existence of the mankind, Mr Zail Singh said on Thursday while accepting credentials from new Argentine ambassador Ms Teresa Hortencia Ines Flouret. The President referred to the cordial relations between India and Argentina, and expressed the hope that the ties would be further strengthened. Presenting her credentials, Ms Flouret said India and Argentina shared many common ideals and were committed to world peace and disarmament. Ms Flouret is the fourth woman ambassador in a male-dominated diplomatic envoys list in New Delhi. [Text] [New Delhi PATRIOT in English 18 Apr 86 p 5] /12851

VISITOR TO MOSCOW--Calcutta, April 24--The Tripura chief minister, Mr Nripen Shakraaborty, today left for New Delhi enroute to Moscow. Mr Chakraaborty will stay in the Soviet Union for about a month for treatment of his eye ailment. [Text] [Calcutta THE TELEGRAPH in English 26 Apr 86 p 2] /12851

CSO: 4600/1703

IRP ORGAN PRAISES REGIME AS 'PATTERN OF RESISTANCE'

Tehran JOMHURI-YE ESLAMI in Persian 31 Mar 86 pp 1, 12

[Text] In the name of God, the compassionate, the merciful. Tomorrow, the first of April is the anniversary of the installation of the Islamic rule in this land. In the eight spring of their freedom, the Iranian nation is welcoming the anniversary of the establishment of an Islamic Republic in this country under circumstances when millions of Muslims in the four corners of the earth are making an effort to unfurl the banner of Islam in their own land and they all wish to live to see the day when they have acquired the honor to live under the colors of Islam. The Islamic world is burning with excitement and efforts are being made from every direction to hoist the banner of Islam and establish Islamic rule.

The first of April is the day when the Iranian nation through their continual and untiring efforts was able to officially celebrate the installation of Islamic rule in this land. The Iranian nation, after so many years of perseverance and persistence, so much sacrifice and enduring so much hardship was able to finally make their own revolution triumphant. After the passage of almost two months from the date of absolute victory, the leadership of the revolution, through a referendum asked the people whether they are interested in having an Islamic Republic in this land?

People's definite response to this question had many times before been given through marches of millions through the streets, however the leadership of the revolution, in reality by giving the people the option of a referendum, in a humble manner asked the people if they are still faithful to the revolution which they have themselves set up?

The positive response of the people from various walks of life in the morning of the first of April 1979 gave the government the reason to officially announce Islamic rule in this land. After so much effort and sacrifice by the people to establish Islamic rule it seemed but natural that the system of the Islamic Republic be created in this land, however once more the leadership of the revolution asked the people to practically express their hearts' desire so that it will be possible for all the friends and foes of the revolution and Islam to officially see the tangible results of a plebiscite through figures and statistics.

There was an inordinate degree of effort by the supporters and those individuals

who were associated with the East and the West to make the future system of Iran gravitate either toward the East or the West, however the official title of the Islamic Republic, to a large extent, caused disappointment to those supporters of the East and the West. Notwithstanding, the aforementioned individuals took on a new mission so that if possible they tried to devoid the revolution from its contents. At this stage the fundamental goal of the supporters of the East and the West was to restrain or impede the development of the government so that they could hinder or totally stop the installation of legal Islamic rule. In spite of the fact that their efforts were comprehensive, the people's resolution and perseverance were dominant, be that as it may, their vices were quite cunning and extensive, nevertheless the people had determined to unfurl the banner of Islam throughout this land and officially recognize the divine decrees as the only acceptable laws for this system.

The enemies of the revolution and Islam made a great effort to disrupt the course of events, however the Iranian nation stood up so firmly against the foes of Islam that all the plotters and conspirers became disappointed and the nation's steadfastness as much thrilled and titillated the Islam's friends all around the world.

The first of April is a heart-warming day for all the world Muslims and oppressed people and it is a day of disappointment for the enemies of the revolution and Islam. Right now, seven years have passed from that day and the heroic and courageous Iranian nation has, defiantly and firmly in an exemplary manner, stood up against all the plots of the world arrogance and its mercenaries that it has left both the foes and the friends lost in wonder and amazement. In this interval, the Islamic Republic has been able to present a new pattern of resistance and steadfastness to the other nations and prove that if a nation wants to remain idealistic and proud and reach this lofty objective it can do so by diligence and tenacity and undeniably disappoint its enemies.

If only until yesterday the world's nations were told that under the present circumstances, Islam and the Islamic laws were not practicable, now the world's nations can introduce a country which is ruled by the Islamic decrees and laws and it prepares and arranges all the economic, political, social and cultural regulations according to the Islamic precepts. If only until yesterday the deviatory institutions talked about religion as the opium of the nations, now the Muslim nations can introduce a people who have been revived and become fervent by Islam which mobilizes all to confront the foes of humanity.

If only until yesterday the world arrogance, its supporters and even some unenlightened or uninitiated individuals within the Islamic countries claimed that Islam was not equipped with the proper economic and social regulations and that it was not conformable to the complex situation of the present world, now the Muslim nations and the world scholars know a land whose people conform their daily lives with the Islamic decrees. Many of the issues which have been unresolved or faced with difficulties by the various institutions and those schools

which claim to be in charge of guiding human societies, have a solution and an answer in the Islamic school. Right now, the world nations have a practical and perceivable example which can unfold the way for those societies which feel that they have reached an impasse, and act as a guiding light for their future.

There is no doubt that whatever rule became established on the first of April in this country was the result of the efforts and struggles of a few generations of devoted and steadfast Muslims who craved the installation of an Islamic rule but were unable to realize their wishes. However, the Iranian nation, on the auspicious day of April 1st unfurled a banner for which thousands of martyrs had unselfishly lost their lives in the hope for the day in which the divine decrees form the substructure of the prevalent laws of this land.

If under the existing circumstances we are witnessing the universal growth of an Islamic movement, if under the present conditions, Muslims from the four corners of the Islamic world are rising in support of Islam, and if the pursuit of Islam in the Islamic lands has become a hopeful or an expectant phenomenon, it is all because the divine decrees have at least been put into execution in one country and it has been proven to the other nations that Islam and the Islamic rules can pave the way to redemption or salvation of the nations.

The ardent and zealous drive of the various segments of the Muslim nation of Iran and their effort to strengthen the war fronts all indicates that this courageous nation has properly realized the sensitivity of the existing conditions and they are fully aware that through the imposition of the war, the world arrogance intended to create some obstacles for the universal Islamic movement, and thus lead the experience for the execution of the Islamic decrees to defeat, but it failed to achieve this goal. The Iranian nation, in the eight spring of freedom, is welcoming the auspicious day of April 1st under circumstances where they have proven their perseverance and determination for unfurling the banner of Islam throughout the Islamic lands.

Now, the banner of the universal Islamic movement is carried on the shoulders of a nation which has acquired the honor of an unselfish struggle and endeavors to pave the way for the revolution and Islam in the annals of the contemporary history. The first of April of 1979 is the day when the Iranian nation was honored by being able to install an Islamic rule in this land under their own name and thus present a new pattern for resistance and sacrifice in order to safeguard the ideal of the martyrs versus the nations which are eager for freedom and independence. It is the day when our people proved that if all the nations steadfastly stand up for their objectives, nothing in the world can impede their way to realize their goals.

12719

CSO: 4640/259

## BRIEFS

ELECTRONIC NAVIGATIONAL AIDS--Bandar-e 'Abbas, Hormozgan Prov, 28 April, IRNA -- Ports and shipping organization here will operate electronic signals transmitting stations in order to guide ships passing the Persian Gulf and Oman Sea, according to a ports and shipping official. The official said the transmitters which are to be completed before next spring, will greatly help navigation security. Persian Gulf and Oman Sea form the southern border of the Islamic Republic and Iran is in charge of maintaining shipping security in the area. Every day tens of tankers pass the waterway to supply major portion of fuel needs of the western world and Japan. According to the official 65 percent of a multi-purpose dls 1.25 m jetty in the Qucham Island has been completed. The jetty is to be exploited by the end of the current year (20 March 1987). Major construction work of jetty projects in the ports of Deylam, Ganaveh (?and) Bushehr have been completed, the official said, and the organization will start construction of Beriz jetty in Baluchestan via Sistan Province during the current year, he added. [Text] [Tehran IRNA in English 1646 GMT 28 Apr 86 LD]

/12929

CSO: 4600/307



EFFECT OF BENAZIR BHUTTO'S RETURN ANALYZED

Lahore NAWA-I-WAQT (MAGAZINE supplement) in Urdu 11 Apr 86 p 4

[Article by Irshad Ahmad Arif: "Benazir Bhutto's Return; Her Return Will Affect MRD's Unity Also"]

[Text] After meeting with her friends in America and the Soviet Union, Miss Benazir Bhutto's return to Pakistan is certainly vital to national politics. A short while ago, during the martial law era, when she accompanied the corpse of her brother, Shahnawaz Bhutto, to Pakistan, her welcome was said to be an expression of sympathy for a bereaved woman. Now, however, Miss Benazir Bhutto's reception is purely a proof of the attachment of the voters to their politician. Nevertheless, what remains to be seen is how far up or down the graph her popularity will go in the future. Also, what reaction the Junejo administration manifests regarding her return to Pakistan and her participation in political activities.

A few years earlier, when Mrs Nusrat Bhutto, Miss Benazir Bhutto and other leaders of the People's Party, one after the other, went overseas for medical treatment, the political observers thought that it was the result of an agreement with the Zia government, and that none of the leaders would return to Pakistan before the general elections. This view gained strength in 1985 at the time when non-party elections were held in the country, and the entire top-ranking leadership of the People's Party appealed for a foreign boycott. After the general elections, it was anticipated that this leadership would adopt a tough stand against the new administration. But that never happened. Miss Benazir Bhutto, up until 31 December, by issuing orders not to take any drastic measures against the Junejo administration, further strengthened this perception. Now that martial law has been lifted, and the Junejo government, by restoring the basic rights after 20 years, has let the genie of politics out of the bottle, political observers, once again, are busy analyzing what will happen upon Benazir Bhutto's return. Will Miss Benazir Bhutto, through her meetings with the people, compel the Junejo administration to make an announcement for fresh general elections according to her conditions or will the Junejo administration, continuing the policy it has maintained so far, grant Miss Benazir Bhutto permission to engage in the maximum possible political activities, so that the curiosity among the people regarding Bhutto phases away gradually and the situation becomes peaceful?

Certain political sectors are describing Miss Benazir Bhutto's arrival, and the administration's decision so far not to impose any restrictions on her, as a starting point of the war of nerves, which, with reference to the future positive or negative impacts on national politics and the method of approach, expresses the opinion that Mr Junejo is not greedy for power. By granting permission to his opponents to continue their political activities, he wishes to prove that he fully believes in democratic power. He wants to establish the tradition of accepting the decisions of the people. He is not in favor of clinging to the chair of authority at every cost. He will also not shrink from granting permission to Miss Benazir Bhutto to explore the outside limits of freedom, because, in his opinion, if the government can operate with complete democratic traditions, let it continue, otherwise, it is better for it not to function. He regards this principle as binding upon his administration. That is why he is not frightened of Miss Bhutto's meetings with the people and her demands. Instead of building a dam over the curiosity about Miss Benazir Bhutto, the feelings of sympathy for her and the people's expectations, he favors leaving her free, so that with the passage of time, a common citizen might comprehend the realities and see the situation as normal.

These sectors believe that, due to the internal differences in the MRD and the ventures of the political parties opposing the People's Party, the force of Miss Benazir Bhutto's popularity will not be too great, but rather, that within 3 or 4 months, people themselves will return to the world of reality. The impression that the administration is displeased with Benazir Bhutto or that she is a disenfranchised political leader of this country will fade away.

This entire situation will benefit the Junejo administration. These sectors declare that Miss Benazir Bhutto, too, perceives this reality. There are assurances being given on her behalf that if she is granted permission by the current administration to continue with her political activities, she will recognize it as a democratic government and not create a climate for a fourth imposition of martial law. Miss Bhutto's visit to America also is a link of this very chain. She gave assurances that she would continue with her activities without causing any harm to the democratic framework of the country. The soft tone that she acquired during her interview with the Voice of America regarding the Afghanistan issue and Pakistani-American relations is also being awarded importance in retrospect by these sectors. They contend that, compared to the past, Benazir is now leaning towards reality. At first she thought that, in view of her father's execution and the Afghanistan issue, she could, by harmonizing the Pakistani-American relations, acquire a revolutionary line that would be appreciated in the country. Moreover, it would be impossible for the government of the time to defend its policy. It is possible that the radical elements of the party prompted her to adopt this policy. However, Miss Benazir Bhutto perhaps did not measure the type of condemnation she had to face both within and outside her party. Similarly, she had to expel her talented uncle Mumtaz Bhutto, from her party by also rejecting his revolutionary stand. Now, before returning to Pakistan, she deemed it necessary to visit Washington. A few weeks earlier, Ghulam Mustafa Jatoi, too, went to Washington. Upon his return to the homeland, he issued a statement that he could sacrifice everything including his party for the sake of the country.

In contrast, the circles supporting Miss Bhutto view the situation differently. They describe her statements as the tactics of a shrewd politician. They assert that whereas Miss Bhutto wishes to protect the country from a renewed martial law, she also wants to erase the existing impression that she is a stubborn girl. That is why, despite not exactly accepting Pakistan's official stand on various international issues, she demonstrated caution while expressing her opinion in this regard. She gave the impression that after gaining power, she would not make any revolutionary change in this stand. Nevertheless, she did not make any commitment on the basis of which it could be said that she is in favor of leaving the situation as it is. Her visit to Moscow totally negates the impression that is being created by sectors opposing Miss Benazir. The explanation that these sectors give regarding her visit to America, her interview with the Voice of America and her statements about the Junejo administration is that, after returning to the country, Miss Bhutto is starting politics as responsible politician. The impression about her is that she is engaging in politics of avenging her father. The radical elements plan out her policies. Her politics is not perceived well by America. By making these statements, she has not only tried to get rid of this image, but has proved that the influential lobbies of both the superpowers are also behind her. Thus by adopting a balanced policy about both powers, she has exposed the allegation that she wishes to gain power by winning support from any one power.

Despite these views about Benazir Bhutto from the sectors supporting and opposing her, it is impossible to deny the fact that Miss Benazir's statements and her course of action are definitely a little different from the past. Instead of criticizing the Junejo administration, she now talks of scrutinizing it. The question is that, if according to her own words, the Junejo administration succeeds in this test and neither arrests her nor opposes her activities, will Miss Bhutto recognize this administration as a lawful and democratic government? Thus by stringing together into one her visit to America, the withdrawal of the Soviet forces from Afghanistan and the return of the Afghan refugees, she has disappointed those [word unknown] of the party, who had hoped to enter Pakistan like Babrak Karmal on Soviet tanks. Whereas her visit to America is a link in portraying an impression to the people of the country that the U.S. administration is now behind her instead of General Zia, her Soviet visit probably could be an effort to satisfy the country's [word omitted], and avoid that superpower's displeasure. Nevertheless, the patriotic sectors are not satisfied with her visits to those countries. They declare that she should be proud of the strength of the people of her country. She is playing a dangerous game by involving the superpowers in the internal affairs of the country's leftists, the loss of which will have to be borne by the nation. Perhaps, Miss Benazir also might not be able to reap the fruit of it. She should learn a lesson from the behavior of her father, Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, vis-a-vis America and the Soviet Union on various issues and the retribution he faced.

It is true that big powers do play a role in changing the governments of smaller countries. However, it is totally unwise to smooth the path of intervention for the superpowers in order to impress one's own people or debase the opposing government.

With Miss Benazir Bhutto's return, a danger is also being felt that the disorganized crowd of the People's Party, in order to let out the rage of their deprivation for the last 8.5 years, might follow the path of creating disruption in meetings and processions. However, if this happens, no one will benefit from it. Instead, Miss Bhutto, perhaps sensing this danger, has instructed her workers to remain calm and not to smooth the path for the fourth period of martial law by causing disturbances.

A large number of the Pakistani people desire that Miss Bhutto should play her full role in the national politics. However, they also expect her to fulfill the demands of politics. It is the duty of the administration to grant Miss Bhutto also all those citizen's rights from which the current rulers are benefiting. Miss Bhutto's return poses danger to the unity of the MRD also, since the workers of the People's Party would dislike now to join with someone else to hold meetings, in that, when the struggle proves successful, the others, too, should share the fruits of it.

The administration will not be Miss Bhutto's sole political adversary, rather Jamiat-e Islami, the Muslim League and the Tehrik-e Istiqlal also will even out their views against her. Whereas holding the customary meetings and processions is beneficial for democracy, the possibilities of disruption in them can prolong reaching the destination.

Miss Bhutto will have to adopt a conduct of forbearance, toleration and respect for others like a responsible leader. She will have to keep her workers under control. Otherwise the repetition of the type of politics that thrived in the past during her respectable father's era, could drag the nation and the country towards the fourth martial law.

The true estimate of Miss Bhutto's strength and whether the policy adopted by the administration is right or wrong will be made after 3 or 4 months, when the dust settles down, and the true picture of the situation will come to the forefront.

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# OVERHAUL OF BUREAUCRACY URGED BY PAPER

Lahore NAWA-I-WAQT in Urdu 7, 8 Apr 86

[Editorial]

[7 Apr 86, p 2]

[Text] President General Mohammad Zial Haq has impressed upon government officials that they should make service to the people and public welfare the true aims of their life. They should remain aloof from politics and not involve themselves in any kind of politics at national or provincial levels. Without any fear or favor, they should devote all their attention to serving the broader interests of the country and the nation. He said this while addressing the officers under training in the Civil Service Academy at Lahore. In a tone of advice and sermonizing, he said that, while faithful to the government of the day, they should be neutral and remain aloof from the affairs of the party in power.

The process of preaching to civil servants along the above lines began with the creation of Pakistan. This need was felt because the main purpose of the administrative set-up created by the departing foreign rulers for the South Asian sub-continent was not service to and the welfare of the people, but maintaining the authority and prestige of the government. This set-up did not exist in Britain because there the sole purpose of government was maximum service to the people. On the other hand, in the sub-continent, its main aim was the strength and permanence of foreign rule. This purpose was better served by cowing people than by winning their hearts. Qaid-e Azam himself took special steps to inform civil servants of the basic change in the responsibilities of government and government employees and the new expectations from them. In this connection, he addressed top government officials at Sabeti (February 1948), Chittagong (March 1948), and Peshawar (April 1948). In no uncertain terms he advised them as follows:

Responsibility for giving practical shape to government policies rests on the civil service and its duty is to see whether the right action is taken on [a policy], so that the government is not charged with failing to act on its pronouncements. Only civil servants can convince people of the honesty of government.



Civil servants are servants of Pakistan, and a servant can discharge his duties and responsibilities only through service. Gone are the days when our country was under the rule of bureaucracy. This is people's government and, in accordance with democratic rules and parliamentary traditions, it is answerable to the people.

When any person departs after meeting with a civil servant, he should not leave with the impression that the civil servant did not treat him pleasantly or listened impatiently or insulted him. While dealing with any person, organization or institution, civil servants should remain calm. If they act like this, they will surely win people's respect.

Whatever department the government employee may belong to, his attitude to and treatment of common people should be good-natured. They should give up the notorious traditions of the past. Now you are not the rulers. You are not part of the ruling class. Rather you are government employees and public servants.

Government employees should have nothing to do with any political party. It is the business of politicians to fight with others for their own point of view. It is not the business of government employees. Any party that has the majority will run the government. It is the duty of government employees to serve this government, but not as politicians, only as government employees.

From these principles and sayings of the Qaid-e Azam it is clear what role he assigned to government employees and what expectations he had of them. But the way in which these expectations proved to be short-lived is both easy to see and tragic. It is generally said that interference of the bureaucracy in national affairs, including politics, began in the days of Malik Ghulam Mohammad, and Sikander Mirza took it to extremes. Some circles include the late Chaudhary Mohammad Ali in the list of officer-politicians but, according to others, so long as he was in the administration, he kept aloof from politics and when he became a politician, he was a politician only. Instead of being dogmatic on this subject, it is enough to say that the ascendancy of bureaucracy which began in the days of Malik Ghulam Mohammad is still continuing. During martial law which began in October 1958, this interference not only intensified but, in addition to the bureaucracy, the power of the military also began to rise. When martial law is imposed, the bureaucracy becomes loyal to and a tool of the military rulers because of organization of some of the top echelons of administration. But with the passing of time, it becomes a need, and a desperate need, of military rulers. When in the so-called people's regime, big industry and all economic institutions were taken into government hands, the bureaucracy then had control of economic resources, as well as administrative authority. It is clear that so long as this terrible grip of the bureaucracy is not broken, government powers and the country's resources will remain in the control of the bureaucracy, even though ostensibly it is the politicians who are occupying governmental and ministerial offices.

However much the president and the prime minister may preach sermons to the bureaucracy, they will be heard, no doubt, but the final say will remain with the bureaucracy. Rule and authority has got into the blood of government employees because the training they receive is not that for a servant but that for a ruler. Today, officers are considered part of the ruling class. They hold courts in the name of public assemblies where, like kings, they hear grievances of the subjects and accept petitions, but not even 1 per cent of the grievances are redressed. It is not the ministers and the advisers but the deputy commissioners and superintendents of police who really wield government power and authority. Far from giving up the special and extraordinary privileges which the top brass had arrogated to themselves during martial law, they are not even prepared to consider a reduction in them, even considering the country's condition and resources. Under these conditions it would be simplistic to expect that the seemingly fine advice and sermons from the president and the prime minister will bring about any change or reform in the nature or working of officialdom. This process cannot begin until those who claim to be the representatives of the people refrain from mimicking the departed foreign rulers in the matter of tradition and pomp and ceremony and begin to follow the principles of service, purity and contentment, the principles which, in the view of the Islamic system of government, are a touchstone for the common Muslims. It is clear that so long as civil servants believe that official pomp and ceremony are correct, service and public welfare will not find that acceptance on which, as a matter of formality, they so often get advice and sermons. The spirit, desire and inclination for rule has become so entrenched in the nature of government official that the desire for reform will remain and the need for reform will continue to be felt, but the tall, strong walls of the fort which officialdom has built around itself will continue to frustrate every effort at reform. Getting rid of a few unpopular officials transferring them will do little good. It will only encourage obstructionism and groupism within the bureaucracy.

[8 Apr 86, p2]

[Text] In the context of sermons by the nation's president, we submitted in these columns a few proposals about government employees' rules and analyzed various aspects of this issue in the light of national thinking. Now, in a commentary, Sayyad Hassan Mohammad has demanded that government employees be given constitutional protections so that they may perform their duties without fear of retribution. No sensible or intelligent citizen will oppose such constitutional safeguards. This is because, in the past, some rulers dismissed large numbers of persons from government service without any kind of consideration. This definitely produced a feeling of insecurity in the administration and, to this day, it has not got rid of that fear. The result is that in order to strengthen its position, it has used questionable means to fortify itself. But these are temporary and ad hoc devices and any strong and determined government can demolish such fortifications. This practice was introduced by Ayub Khan. In the regimes of Yahya Khan and Bhutto, it was used against government employees and, at a stroke of pen, thousands of families were deprived of their means of livelihood. The fact is that in view of the administrative and national requirements, government

employees are an essential entity and they cannot be left at the mercy of the whims of any ruler. Their performance should be evaluated only on the basis of office rules and regulations, and personal likes and dislikes should play no part in their promotions, transfers and dismissals. At the same time, national circles will definitely require from the administration that no officer should continue to stick to his place of choice. If and when he is transferred to a backward or an unattractive place, either as a result of administrative need or as a result of administrative action, he should display a spirit of empathy and self-sacrifice and not hesitate to be transferred. Just as a politician is always ready to go to prison and a newspaper of principles and independence is always prepared to forgo advertisements and newsprint similarly the least that can be expected of a government employee is that he should cheerfully obey orders of transfer to any place. This is because sticking to one place may continually deprive others of those privileges and rights. What is more, people of a backward area will not be able to take advantage of the services of a good and a competent officer. And once their fate gets linked to an incompetent officer, they will have to spend years of their life at his mercy. If we look at the condition today, we will find that there are large numbers of government employees posted in all the big cities. For years at a stretch, people have been stationed in big cities like Karachi, Lahore, Rawalpindi, Peshawar and Quetta. If any effort is made to dislodge even one of them, they succeed in getting their transfer orders cancelled on the grounds of difficulties in their children's education and a hundred such excuses. Now there are droves of members of assemblies and ministers to recommend their cause. This situation is disastrous for the country, and effective steps should be taken to rectify it. While it is necessary for the government employees to understand that their transfer from one place to another is in the best interest of the people and the government, at the same time, it is the responsibility of government to provide minimum facilities in all backward places so that government employees may be ready to serve in all places without any hesitation. Another way would be that, keeping in view the needs of rural people, service in these areas should be encouraged and the policy should be adopted of providing necessary facilities in the backward places.

While considering the question of providing constitutional safeguards for the civil service, while it is necessary to ensure that government employees are protected from political groupism, regional favoritism, and someone's likes and dislikes, it is also necessary to devise such rules and regulations so that no officer sticks to one place or one post for an indefinite period. At the same time, government employees should not involve themselves in government affairs and should not allow themselves to become tools of anyone's personal or political objectives. It is also the duty of politicians that they should not use administration for any political purposes and they should not take any administrative action against any officer who refuses to become their cat's paw. There is no doubt that administration cannot be carried on by completely debilitating the bureaucracy because today's administration is a complicated science and needlessly hurting anyone's conscience or permanently destroying an institution will amount to making the nation hostage to anarchy and chaos. That is why, when plans are being made to enforce and strengthen the Islamic democratic system in the country, there is also a critical need to evolve a policy regarding the bureaucracy, keeping in view national requirements.

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